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BOOK REVIEWS AND POETRY

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Artists represented in this issue have exhibited in the better galleries both in this country and in Europe.

Who Will Make the Future?

By REUBEN S. FLACKS

A GREAT DEBATE is now raging in the left-liberal journals on the nature of the post-war world. As one follows the discussion, one wonders whether the Left can contribute much that is worth while, unless it discards and eliminates practices and techniques which have prevented positive action in the immediate past. The day of the fellow traveler is passing, and liberalism is again raising its head. Once more democracy is the front line weapon in a crusade to win the peace. A year ago, the Temporary National Economic Committee presented its preview of the economic and social framework of the post-war world, at least for several generations to come, and the sounding board for the planners of the new order minced no words in its acceptance of the system of free, private enterprise as the continued basis of the American way of life. With the democratic method taken for granted, the point of approach has shifted to the content of the plans and the blue-prints.

Legislation is the keystone to progress in a democracy. It is the method by which a free people through their duly delegated representatives make their will effective. The Left has a choice: it can be proponent and active; or, as it was during the entire New Deal period, critical and passive. We have learned that the differences in the plans for a better social order shade into methods of planning; and that the planners are more important, in realistic terms, than the plans. Will the Left take an active part in this post-war task? Or will the liberals and the intellectuals of the Left and the radicals, repeat and persist in their policies of negation, ob-

struction, and defeatism? It is to them, those to the left of the Center, and to those who are not intransigent Marxists, in this country, that these comments are addressed.

Leftism has come of age. Faced with large grants of powers, and with a complexity of issues on a scale undreamed of, there is a growing realization of the need of a positive, workable program. Those who lay claim to a mature social philosophy now see that they can no longer ignore the demands for adjustment of near-term conflicts and seek refuge in their ivory towers. This does not mean that they must unduly preoccupy themselves with the shorter term, but it does demand a shift in emphasis, a reorientation, from sole and undue long-range considerations. In the words of Sir Josiah Stamp, "man has to live in the short run." The pressing need for a better world now forces the weight of social direction on positive action. The warnings in the sterile and barren record of accomplishment of the Left in this arena can no longer be ignored.

This means a reappraisal of methods, of techniques, and of tactics. As Jerome Frank has said, the modern mind is demanding more than mere verbalism and scholasticism. A decade of ideological nonsense and semantic phrase-making now calls for a meeting of the minds, if only on an elementary basis, and for a return to common sense.

So that there will be no misunderstanding as to bias of approach, and because Left criticism of the thirties has been so lacking in honest disclosure of underlying premises and principles of interpretation,

this writer expressly makes it clear that he is not a Marxist; that he does not underestimate the role of Karl Marx as an economist, sociologist, and historian, but he is convinced that Marxism is merely another "dogma among dogmas"; that, in his opinion, this country is not turning to socialism; that in spite of all efforts and claims of extremists, this country for a long time to come will remain essentially capitalistic, though it may be modified with "varieties of collectivism," to use Max Lerner's phrase; that it will be far from an ideal democracy; but he does believe that the liberal cast of thought and mode of action will force more than a passing effort to strengthen and broaden the democratic base, economically as well as politically. These beliefs in the persistence of an individualistic, although a greater socially controlled and more democratic capitalism, are not grounded in the what ought or must be, nor in a denial of fundamental attempts to forge a better social order. They are based in an interpretation of the realities of American political, economic, and social life; and particularly in its imperviousness to Marxian revolutionary doctrines and its adherence to orthodox liberalism.

Any college undergraduate can explain the New Deal in terms of dissenting opinions of certain liberal judges and of the closing chapters of Marshall's *Readings In Industrial Society* on social control. Our traditional institutions have shown surprising vitality and adaptability to new and modern needs. Democracy as a process and a way of life has confounded its critics by its reconciliation of government and liberty. The conflict for new liberties with the natural opposition has brought forth and developed new and forward looking devices. It is quite obvious that the TNEC did not err in its findings. It is an indictment of the Left that it made so little impress on the dynamic thirties.

In looking to the part an intelligent and resourceful Left can play in the making of the future, one must first recognize its tragic failure in the past decade. While it was a world-wide failure, it was especially so in this country. For thirty years, on the platform and in print, there were analyses and discussions of the approaches and requisites of a new order. Yet when the time came for new disciplines, new techniques and devices in social organization and social advance, when the moment for positive and constructive action finally arrived, where was the leadership? The liberals and the intellectuals of the Left, almost to a man, entrained as fellow-travelers, and entrusted the rebuilding of the world under their feet to disciples of the orthodox economists at whom they had scoffed, and to protégés of Wall Street law offices.

In the major and most far-reaching controversy of the period, over the nature of social security and unemployment compensation, the crux of the welfare issue, the high water mark of Leftist contribution in constructive social legislation was the ill-conceived Lundeen Bill, otherwise known as the "Workers' Bill." Even the C.I.O. was not the result of a consciously directed positive program, but merely the by-product of the Wagner Labor Act and a political debt. Chapters in the doctrine of traditional social control so familiar to the orthodox economic literature of the early twenties became part of our statute books. The liberals of the Right planned and wrote the New Deal. The Left sat in the gallery, booing and jeering; never quite able to make up its mind, whether to propose measures further to undermine capitalism, or to favor proposals that might support and revive it. Then there is that bitter failure in coalescence: the failure even to attempt to form the one effective instrument for political action—a third party.

Archibald MacLeish voiced the poet's grasp of the depth of this failure. But

the liberal, the intellectual, and the leftist have not yet grasped the full import of the spiritual and moral decline that could meet with acclaim a great English liberal's acceptance of the dictatorship doctrine. Graham Wallas has well said that the tendency to ascribe dislocation in our own national economic sphere to inevitable and world causes tends to blunt the edge of our readiness to undertake the agony of social invention. Bound by an ethic and a "line" that became ends in themselves, swamped by the mass of facts and of knowledge with which they had to contend in the solution of immediate and near-term issues, the Left en masse made a rush for the emotional and ideological approach. In effect this became a revolt against scientific reason. True, prominent social thinkers made their alleged appeals to reason. But, with an intolerant impatience at the shortcomings of the scientists, in their haste for a new world over night, they turned against the analytics of orthodox economic thought. In reality this was a revolt against "man's experience as the center of thought." It was a rebellion against the exact strictures of empirical and true scientific thinking. An inability to cope with the many factors and imponderables in their problems drove them into worlds of "as if" reasoning. With sophomoric distortions of simplicity, and by appeals to naive moralism, they made retreat upon retreat from the issues in conflict and wound up in destructive confusion and futility. The revolt led, as Graham Wallas had decried in an earlier day, to a "wave of anti-intellectualism that made the emotional and private component the heart of scientific certainty in social judgment."

We now know or ought to know that the chapters of Karl Marx and Henry George do not contain the whole of political and economic truth. We know or ought to know that the "doctrine of universal determinism will not guarantee an

attainable expression of laws governing the specific phenomena of social life." The stubborn defense of Britain brought Harold Laski to recant and reaffirm his faith in the democratic method. Current writings show that there still remains a profound faith in the pragmatic, empirical approach and in intellectual integrity. Their healthy purgings indicate that a nucleus exists for a frontal attack on the social problems to come with all the dignity of the modern mind.

If we think in terms of a positive and workable program, then first and foremost we must find, to use the lawyer's phrase, a basis for the meeting of the minds. Without that "combination of knowledge," public will cannot be expressed in effective social action. To this end, there must be a repudiation of the "illiberalism" of the Left which has become ingrained in its methods of approach. There must be a repudiation of all apriori and closed systems of thought. There must be an end of those persuasions, prejudices, and attitudes which have so acted as impediments and restraints upon the free flow of thought and reason. With increasing indifference we have permitted ourselves to be bound by unfair and deceptive practices in social criticism. Now, as we stand on the threshold of post-war planning, if proposals of the shorter-term are not to be met with the same negation, obstructionism, and defeatism, there must be a "cease and desist" on certain intellectual practices. Elementary as the following suggestions may sound, they are examples of that quixotic technique which is at the root of a do-nothing policy.

Consider practice (a), so in vogue in the thirties: the created premise that capitalism is doomed. If the proposed legislative action or social program is within the capitalist framework, the doom is written; the lesser within the greater, for capitalism itself is doomed. John Strachey in the depths of the depression gave a

brilliant display of the seemingly remorseless action of this implicit assumption upon the "Two Wings of the Blue Eagle." Whatever steps were taken by the United States as a capitalist nation towards national recovery within the capitalist formula, the "inexorable destiny," was clear. Therefore, any step taken by the Roosevelt administration under the New Deal suffered the same fate. The program itself was of no consequence; so long as the approach was capitalistic . . . quod erat demonstrandum. Just a few years later, those essentials of a recovery program so doomed to perpetual failure became the pillars of an effective Wagner Labor Act and a Wages and Hours Act, acclaimed by liberals and radicals alike as the fountainhead of new liberties.

Consider practice (b), quite commonly used by the planners and blue-printers of the "ought" or "must" worlds: the use of mutually exclusive and conflicting planes of reference. Professor Jacques Rueff has shown that if, for convenience, we were to term the capitalistic private enterprise economy as supported by an Euclidean theory of economics, then an "ought" or "must" economy deriving its economic laws not from observation of the world of experience and offering apriori that their effect should equalize the lot of all men, is non-Euclidean. Either is a perfectly logical system; but however rigorous the logic be within the system, its limitations are fixed by the plane of reference. Obviously, any attempt to examine and explain phenomena in the one by the axioms and postulates of the other can lead only to the most absurd irrationalities. Yet Left social criticism is replete with failures, if not refusals, to bow to this simple law of reasoning. Not infrequently, the conscious intendment carries over into intellectual fraud. The lay reader, not aware of the proponent's legerdemain, is sold a gold brick. Ordinary social proposals intended

for "this" world are attacked from the safe vantage point of an "ought" world. Social planners with blue prints of their "as if" worlds, ignoring that they started out with "if I were dictator," pretend to be proponents or opponents of remedy and reform in this capitalist world. They refuse to admit their point of approach; confusion is twice confounded; there is no meeting of the minds. If not stopped in its tracks, this practice will be the termite that will undermine all faith in the intellectual integrity of the post-war planners of the Left.

Consider practice (c), the most infantile, and probably the most prevalent. Here the intellectual's fetish for the fundamental operates as the *sina qua non* of social criticism. Since the proposal must commence its operation in a capitalist world, and is therefore in his terminology a palliative, the critic, with absolute disinterest in the contemporaneous social consequences, has but one answer: "The approach is not fundamental." Query: at what point will he climb down from his ivory tower and join the common herd in its common venture? Just where does the fundamental emerge? Obviously the point of approach, in spite of all claims to fundamental positivism, is not, and is not intended to be, constructive. Its goal is acquiescence in futility.

Any attempt to formulate a positive program must recognize that the alternatives inherent in these and similar practices are most disturbing to the layman. More than that, they are devastating. While profound leftists draw distinctions between peaceful and violent revolutions, the approach of despair, defeatism, and futility leave him no ray of hope. He can foresee nothing but crisis after crisis. Yet only a very small minority of the Left will admit to a willingness to press the issues to the breaking point. And, of course, the American people never did during the depression, nor do they now,

want that, nor will they brook it. But, what is more to the point, even those who propose the peaceful revolution repudiate that reasonableness of approach necessary for the proper conditioning that will permit acquiescence in their peaceful revolution. They persist in forcing the dilemma.

Unless the proponents of the Left face the realities in their reasoning and intellectual positions, they will not mobilize public will in favor of their directions and their drives. They will remain the jeering gallery. The refusal to come out for short-term issues that have meaning to the man on the street is the basis of the failure to submit a constructive legislative program. There are important social values in individualism; and there is a continuous and stable heritage of human experience in the money, market, and price economy. The more socially valuable capitalistic devices can and undoubtedly will be used as a base upon which to stake out areas and regions of collectivism and socialization. By the liberal use of intelligence in conjoint emphasis upon

the larger goals of human activities, there might be an approximation of the good and just society. This may or may not lead to collectivistic or socialistic goals. The planners of the new order will have to take the chance that the measures they propose for the solutions of the problems of unemployment, want, security, and democracy may so revive and restore capitalism that it may become a too successful competitor with plans and blue-prints of their own fashioning.

We must properly assess the public's crying need for a restatement of the aims and objectives of the Left in terms of social accomplishment in the lifetime of men now living. Unless the methods and techniques conform to the thought patterns of those who constitute this public, there will not be that mobilization of will necessary to democratic acceptance of the points of view of the Left. Unless there is a return to ordinary reason and common sense, the intellectual and moral leadership in the post-war world will be forfeited again to the leaders of the Right.



A Talmudic Discussion

DAVID BEKKER

Freedom and Democracy in America

By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU

AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN by choice and not by the accident of birth, I believe that I have made it sufficiently clear that I prefer to live in the democracy of the United States rather than under any other form of political organization in the world. Notice that I do not say that I live *under* a democracy, but that I say that I live *in* a democracy. In other parts of the world one lives *under* a government, but in the United States one lives in the "democratic way." Here we choose our own government and work with it; elsewhere in the world the form of government under which one lives is forced upon one, and any expression of dissatisfaction with it is likely to bring severe punishment. All is by no means perfect here, but I do believe that the democracy which our form of government makes possible represents the nearest approach, at this moment, to the form of government best suited for free men anywhere in the world.

I originally came to this country in order to pursue my studies, and without the slightest intention of remaining here. With me I brought the prejudices against America and Americans with which my head had been filled from my schooldays on: Americans were crude. They didn't speak the English language as decent people should. Intellectually they were barbarians, and so on. At first this all seemed quite true. The customs officer who examined my baggage chewed gum, and refused to recognize that I was a superior being by omitting to call me "sir," a thing which no properly educated English customs officer would have neglected to do. Yes, my first day in New York confirmed

everything I had ever heard about America.

Well, I could go on in the same vein for hours, but to cut a long story short, after I had been in America for several months I made the amazing discovery that Americans were far better human beings than were my own countrymen. They were more sympathetic, more honest, more sincere, more genuine, more humane and helpful than any people I had ever met in Europe; while in comparison with the feeble pulse of European life, the land and the people here seemed to me simply overflowing with vital spirits. During my first stay of nine months I met more real human beings here than I had met in all the twenty-three years of my previous life in Europe. I liked it here because people were so free and open, and had no reason to hide behind a mask or a stiff shirt or a particular accent. What impressed me beyond all else about the American way of life was the emphasis which was placed on being oneself, and the very real freedom, opportunities, and guidance which were afforded to every individual to realize his potentialities.

In Europe, on the other hand, one was educated to a very definite pattern, one which was based, and continues to be based, upon the morality which the master sets for the slave. Education consisted in being forced to be what others wanted one to be, not what he might have wished to be himself, for if he was himself he might begin to draw certain conclusions, but if one was as the governing classes wanted him to be then one did as one was told and believed that

that was right and being a loyal citizen of one's country. Such education was, of course, a function of the particular, and very similar, political motives of each European power; and the result of this, among other things, has been that very few people in Europe have ever succeeded in being themselves. On the other hand they have been tragically confused.

In America I find these things to be quite otherwise. Here a man can call his soul his own, if he wants to, and the majority of Americans have wanted to and do call their souls their own, to do with whatsoever they please, and allowing every one else the same freedom, so long as it does not interfere with the right of any one else to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. And this is so because the principles and motives which direct the government of the United States are based upon a humane view of life, the state, and the individual, a view of life which holds that government exists for and is directed by the governed, and not that the governed exist for and are the slaves of the government. This is the philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, and this is the principle enshrined in the Constitution which created the government of the United States in order "to promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

To me, who came to these shores as an alien, living here has been a re-education in the process of becoming a human being,—and that is what I believe most of us want to be. It is because I believe that this is the only country in the world where it is possible for most people to become one, that I feel with all the reason that is within me that the form of government which renders this possible must at all costs be preserved.

In recent years, as we all know, there have been increasing attempts to curtail the liberties and civil rights of aliens and minority groups in this country. As one

who has witnessed the effects of such practices in Europe, as an American citizen, as an educator and a scientist who has spent a good part of his life in an environment of intellectual freedom, and who knows by experience that any curtailment of that freedom is fatal to the best interests of humanity, I view any attempt to abridge the liberties of any alien or minority group, whether by legislation or any other means, as a direct threat to the civil rights of every American citizen. To the extent to which the freedom of any minority group is curtailed, to that extent is the freedom of every American citizen curtailed; for in depriving any group of any right, and particularly of the right to express itself, we are thus deprived of the right to hear and to judge for ourselves the value of what such groups may have to offer—and is it not clear that they have had much of value to offer us?

Any curtailment of the rights and freedom of minority groups constitutes an overt insult to the intelligence of every American citizen, who by such an act is bluntly informed that he is incapable of using his own intelligence, and unable to take care of his own interests without sacrificing the interests of others.

Everywhere so-called minority groups have generally been the source of much of the good in the world which we value so highly to-day. Perhaps we need to be reminded that Jesus Christ belonged to a minority group, which has since become the greatest religious force in the world. If Christ returned to the earth to-day, and happened to land in America, it is very probable that certain individuals among us would have something to say about his "un-American" activities. The reason for the persecution of the Christian minority group in the Roman era did not by any means escape the attention of certain Roman contemporaries, as for example, Tertullian, who fully recognized that the persecution of the Christian

minority was merely being used as a device to sidetrack the attention of the people from the real problems with which the Roman State was faced. Says Tertulian, "If the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded: 'Throw the Christians to the lions!'" It is rather odd, but whether it was due to a shortage in the number of lions available, or to the absence of the equivalent of a Dies Committee for the investigation of un-Roman activities, or to other causes, Rome crumbled, decayed, and died, while Christianity became a great religious force in the world, spreading to the ends of the earth.

Those of us who have forgotten need, perhaps, also to be reminded that the Fathers of this great country belonged to a minority group, and that the War of Independence was fought by a minority group to prevent the intolerable invasion of its civil rights by the British. That war was won, and what was won at such a cost must not be lost to the enemies of democracy who, in its name, would defeat the purposes for which it was fought. American democracy is built on the fundamental conviction that all people should enjoy the same prerogatives and privileges because, by and large, they all possess the potentialities which would enable them to benefit by them, individually and mutually. This is the first and greatest of the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence, a document which, in my opinion, represents the noblest and truest declaration of the principles of human liberty ever penned.

Science and humane thought support this principle to the full—and if necessary, to the last ditch. When then, this great principle is in any way threatened, it is incumbent upon those of us who believe that nothing is more worth hav-

ing than liberty, to do everything within our power to defeat the efforts of those misguided individuals who would, if we allowed them, put a noose around the neck of Liberty and Freedom. Those who, by legislative, or other means, would discriminate against aliens in any way are unfaithful to the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence. But to express themselves as they do is their right, just as it is our right to oppose their truly "un-American" conduct by showing that their endeavors to constrict the liberties of minority groups are contrary to both the letter and the spirit of American democracy, and to the principles of liberty, freedom, and humanity upon which that democracy is founded, and let us make sure, will continue to grow.

In critical times such as these through which we are now passing, people become hysterical and frightened. The threat of war is a horrible thing, and people rightly ask, "What have we done to deserve this? Who is to blame?" And, of course, there are always scores of individuals waiting for the opportunity to be able to supply their particular answer. In the recent anti-alien bills which came before the Senate there was more than a subtle suggestion that aliens were stealing jobs from good Americans and were responsible for much of the economic distress of so many American citizens. What further purposes lay behind these bills we need not inquire here. But what all of us should be concerned with, and do something about, is the unjust and unjustifiable stigmatization of the alien as an individual whose free existence in this land is prejudicial to that of its native-born citizens. Not only is such a suggestion wholly false, but it is at once an exhibition of both tolerance and ingratitude, and reveals a heartlessness and a recklessness of the best interests of this country and its citizens which ill becomes any one of its legislators. For to whom does America owe its present greatness, if not

to those millions of aliens who sought and found a refuge from Europe on these shores — the Europe we all escaped, whether we came over on the *Mayflower* or a cattle boat. Is it not to these very aliens who, in return for what they were rendered capable of contributing, gave freely of the best that it was in their power to give, and substantially helped to make America, America?

Is it not a sad irony that some of the descendants of these self-same aliens should now seek to condemn what their fathers represented and achieved? It is a thought worth meditating that had their own alien ancestors been discriminated against as they would wish to discriminate against aliens to-day, they would at this very moment probably be bemoaning their fate living, or rather existing, under some European dictatorship as, for example, under Hitler where aliens do not have the right to live. Mythological Americanism, like mythological Aryanism, is a dangerous thing. Under the Nazi regime we have seen every horror committed in the name of a mythological Aryanism, a regime under which all who are not mythical Aryans have been deprived of the right to earn a living, and who have had taken from them even that which

they had not. Here the responsible economic factors and motives are painfully clear. Is it possible that similar factors and motives inspired some of the recent anti-alien bills? Many of us believe that it is more than possible, and that such bills are calculated to discriminate against minority groups of all kinds, socially, politically, and economically. Groups which were more than welcome when prosperity reigned and labour was at a premium, are in times of depression and unemployment made to feel that they are unwanted. During a "war-scare" period they become immediately suspect, and instead of a sympathetic attempt being made to understand the situation as a whole the old Roman cry arises "Throw the aliens to the lions!"

It is up to the citizens of the United States to do everything in their power to see that no injustice is committed against any individual or group of individuals on the score of their alien origin. Let us not follow those who exclaim that "Nothing which is alien is human to me," but let us say with the old poet "Nothing that is human is alien to me." And let us act upon that principle, for it is the first principle of our Constitution as Americans and as human beings.

GRASS

By REYNOLDS YOUNG

This little man, my neighbor, with his flowers,
Looks pale this morning, says he did not sleep—
There was the news from France. Better to plant
With grass these beds of iris, holly-hocks,
And all gay flaunting flowers that mock us.
Grass, only, we endure: tenacious, strong,
Healing all earthly scars, covering over
The bodies and the memories of death.

The Identity of Jewish Music

By LEON STEIN

SOME TIME AGO there was given a performance of a presumably Jewish cantata. The text was that of a poem by a famous author, and it was sung in the original Yiddish. As for the music, there were choral sections foursquare and German as the name Handel; there were bel-canto arias in the tradition of nineteenth century Italian opera; a cantor, one of the soloists, sang in a very "chaz-zanish" style very unchazzanish music; one of the soprano solos, above a choral background consisted of a coloratura embellishment that Donizetti might have tossed off in a weak moment. The racial aspect was provided for by a few augmented seconds here and there. This is not Jewish music.

I have before me one of the last Jewish publications to come out of Berlin. The collection, "Shiri Eretz Yisrael", was issued in 1935. The text is in Hebrew; much of the music is authentically Jewish. But on page 125 there is a song to Hebrew text, the music of which—no credit given—is that of the familiar chorus from the Vagabond King. Surely, this is not Jewish music.

In the reformed Synagogues one often hears German hymns. The composer's name may read Mendelssohn, Sulzer, Schlesinger, or in some cases Lewandowski, but the music is characteristically in the German Protestant style. This is not Jewish music.

In the Orthodox Synagogue, the music of cantors or choirs, or both, will frequently be derived from oratorio and operatic material, or from semi-popular songs. This is not Jewish music.

George Gershwin, Irving Berlin, Arnold

Schonberg, Aaron Copland are Jewish by birth. They represent various facets of contemporary musical expression. But theirs is not Jewish music.

Among familiar folk-songs there is a group that is particularly Germanic. Typical is "Dem Milner's Treern". The first four notes constitute one of the most frequently used figures in European music. It occurs in such works as Liszt's "Petrarch Sonnet", the transfiguration theme of Strauss' "Death and Transfiguration", Mendelssohn's "Songs Without Words", #18, not to mention "How Dry I Am". Material so obviously foreign in origin, particularly when not integrated with authentic melody, can hardly be said to be Jewish in character.

I have chosen the above instances because each represents a group of works which because of the language, the text, or the nationality of the composer, leads individuals to label them "Jewish." In so doing, these individuals contribute to the confusion and misinformation which becomes evident whenever a discussion of such music arises.

One of the most prevalent misapprehensions is the assumption that every composer of Jewish origin has "something Jewish" in his music. Even if he be converted, and has had no contact with things Jewish, neither music, language, custom, nor tradition, we are asked to believe that something racial will find expression in his music. The implication is that the Judaic musical quality is innate, that it is in the germ plasm, that it is what biologists call a blastogenic rather than a somatogenic quality, a characteristic that is inherited and trans-

ferable rather than acquired. We could, with equal justification, say that there is an inherited tendency toward lingual expression in Yiddish or Hebrew, and that a Jew who happened to be born and lived among the Hottentots would manifest recognizable tendencies towards expression in his great-grandfather's mother tongue, without ever having heard it spoken.

Some may counter that what is meant is that a certain emotional predisposition is inheritable, and that this predisposition finds an outlet in certain modifications of melody and treatment stemming from Jewish music and common to most Jewish composers. An examination of works by the latter utterly refutes such a thesis. Meyerbeer, Rubinstein, Offenbach, Mendelssohn, Mahler, Schonberg—these composers did not utilize the melodic and harmonic materials which, we will find, are characteristically Jewish; in each case, they used the idiom and projected the content of the music of their day and their country. On their part, there was no more actual or potential empathy with Jewish music than there was with the music of almost any other nation. In all of "La Juive," Halevy used Jewish material in but one aria, that of Eleazer. When we find *apparently* Hebraic material in the works of composers like Rubinstein or Goldmark, it is in the nature of Oriental or exotic treatment externally, rather than innately, derived. Thus Rubinstein's conscious use of Jewish motives in some of his songs is musically an attestation of racial expression to the same extent as is Glinka's "Persian Song."

Some may point to lyricism as a distinctly Jewish trait, but we should remember that it certainly is not the exclusive property of just one people. The lyricism of Italian composers from Palestrina to Casella, of the Austrians, Haydn and Mozart and Schubert, of the sixteenth century English composers, of Stephen Foster, indicates that its presence may point to one of a number of possible

origins. As for the use of minor tonalities, we shall speak of that later. It should be evident, then, that music may be set to Jewish or Hebrew text; that it may be utilized in religious services; or that it may be written by Jewish composers and still not be Jewish.

It is not surprising to find in music supposedly Jewish, influences of this, that, or the other nation. What is surprising is that in spite of dispersion, wandering, assimilation, and again dispersion, the basic identity of liturgical and folk music was maintained and has survived. As for influences, a music, or a composer may use material from this or that source without being in the sheer imitative sense of the word, derivative. No person, no matter how creative, nor any national idiom, is autogenic. The fact, for example, that sources or origins of Debussy's idiom may be found in Moussorgsky, or Borodin, or Franck, did not prevent that idiom, from being, in its achieved state one of the most distinctive in three centuries of music. If the borrowed or influencing factors are so integrated that they are *compounded* rather than merely *mixed* with the inherent materials, the result may be a positive one, with no loss of original identity.

There are four main types of authentic material which we shall consider here: (1) the music associated with the chanting of Biblical and prayer texts; (2) the Ashkenazic and near-East folk song; (3) Chassidic song; (4) Palestinian song. True Jewish music is included in, or derived from, these song types. It is characterized by a definite melodic physiognomy.

The earliest distinctive Jewish music is that associated with the chanting of Biblical and prayer texts in the time of the Temple. While instruments were used, they were, in the main, utilized in the Oriental tradition of incidental or accompaniment treatment; the music was primarily vocal, for the principal object was the intonation of a text. Because of

the vocal and somewhat improvisational character, the rhythm was freer and less regular than that to which the music of the past three centuries has accustomed us. There was, apparently, no harmony in the technical sense of the word, harmony in this sense being defined as the science and art of combining tones into chords and the treatment of these chords according to certain laws. The science of harmony was a development of the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance periods in Europe.

European music of the past three centuries is founded on the major or minor scales. Hebrew music of the time of the first and second Temples was founded not on these scales, but principally on three others. The first, corresponding to the Greek Phrygian, consisted of "d-e-f-g-a-b-c-d;" the second, corresponding to the Greek Dorian is "e-f-g-a-b-c-d;" the third somewhat like the Greek Phrygian is "f-g-a-bb-c-d-e;" a fourth scale, used by Semitic-Oriental communities was based on the progression "d-eb-f#-g-a-b-c." No biblical or prayer songs of the Temple period derive from this scale. However, a modified treatment consisting of the progression "d-eb-f#-g-a-bb-c," was to form the basis for much folk and Synagogue music after the tenth century. It most possibly entered Jewish music as a result of contact with Tartaric or Ukrainian peoples. It is quite possible that it might have been brought in by the Chazarian proselytes when they converted themselves to Judaism in the eighth century.

The books of the Bible which were publicly read include the Pentateuch, the Prophets, Esther, Lamentations, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Psalms, and Job. The text of each was chanted to a specific "mode," or arrangements of motives, derived from one of the above scales. So, too, were the various prayers. A. Z. Idelsohn, in his "History of Jewish Music," (the first comprehensive and most scholarly work on the subject),

writes: "Biblical and prayer modes constitute the oldest, the most genuine, and the most Oriental-Semitic part of Jewish music, upon which the later creations were based."

During the nineteenth century when many of the cantors and choir leaders had acquired a formal schooling in music, many settings and arrangements of traditional material were attempted. There was a basic inconsistency between a harmony based on treatments of major and minor scale materials, and a melody not derived from these scales. This inconsistency was either disregarded or eliminated at the expense of the distinctive and authentic aspects of the Jewish music. The result, of course, was either a devitalized melody line, or a peculiar hybrid arrangement, consisting of Oriental melody and Occidental harmony.

There is no written record of the Hebrew music of the Temple periods; in the absence of such we have these facts to justify certain conclusions as to the nature and construction of what we consider authentically Jewish music:

(1) Traditional chants of many Jewish communities which have been widely separated for centuries are identical or markedly similar. In spite of the fact that some of these are Western European, much of the Synagogue material is identical with, or bears a close resemblance to, Semitic-Oriental music.

(2) We do have records of early Christian chants. Since the first Christians were Jews and since in the beginning these felt themselves to be in the direct line of Jewish tradition and prophecy, it is evident that they would use prayer motives and melodies with which they were familiar. This is corroborated by Idelsohn's comparative tables of early Christian chants and motives still used by Hebrew communities not in contact with Roman Catholic peoples. Not only melodies, but procedures were derived. Isadore of Seville expressed the opinion, "Laudes, hoc est Alleluja canere, canticum est Hebroeorum"—"The tunes of Lauda-

tions, that is Hallelujah-singing, are of Hebrew origin." The word Hallelujah in itself would seem to corroborate this, since it is purely Hebrew. The custom of having responsorial and antiphonal choruses and solos also was borrowed from the Hebrew liturgy. The "Sanctus" of the Mass uses the Latin "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, deus Sabaoth," a literal translation of the Hebrew "Kadosh, kadosh, kadosh, adonai hamamlakim;" the appearance of the Hebrew "Sabaoth" in the midst of the Latin emphasizes the derivation.

Up to the tenth century the musical culture of the Jewish communities was self-sufficient enough to resist the influence of neighbors and associates, particularly since the culture of the latter had not yet developed. The "Elijah" songs, Seder songs, Festival songs, "Zemirot," which directly or indirectly can be traced to a pre-tenth century origin, have an authentic character, in contrast to the mixed nature or out-and-out borrowing to be observed in music after the eleventh century. Between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries there developed and was eventually notated, music for the Kaddish, Kol Nidre, etc., which subsequent generations have come to view as traditional. Idelsohn lists a number of such melodies; these melodies utilize fifty-two basic motives or figures. Of the latter, thirteen are of Biblical origin, thirty-five of German origin, and four of Slavic-Oriental origin.

In regard to ritualistic music we find that much remained basically unchanged. Unfortunately, there never was undertaken in an official manner the organization of this ritualistic music, an organization similar in purpose and function to that we find in the Gregorian Chant of the Catholic Church. Additions and modifications were made in accordance with the prevailing idiom, national influence, and musical taste of the particular community of which the Jew happened to be a part. As a result of these modifications and accretions the pure line

of Synagogue music was sometimes much corrupted. The authentic materials were entirely submerged, and as we shall see, it is in the proper evaluation and treatment of these materials that one of the most important sources of an "indigenous" Jewish music is to be found.

The second type of such music is to be found in the Ashkenazic folk-songs. These are bound up with the emergence and development of Yiddish, particularly in Central Europe. Since much was borrowed from the songs of the Russians, Germans, Lithuanians, Rumanians, and Poles, it becomes difficult on occasion to separate the inherent from the acquired. But a familiarity with the motives of Synagogue music simplifies the task and enables us to find the authentic materials. While in many respects weaker and less valuable in musical content than the other three types here discussed, many of these folk songs present valid and interesting melodies. Such songs as "Af Bri," "A Chazzan Oif Shabos," "Fregt di Velt an Alte Kashe," "A Dudele" are among the more musically authentic. We find most of the Ashkenazic folk songs in a minor key. As a result of the nature of West-European music, the couplings of major-glad, minor-sad, have been taken much for granted. But we must remember that in great part, the origin of Jewish song is Oriental. In Oriental and Slavic music, minor does not imply sadness, nor major gladness; the principal determinant of these moods or emotions in Eastern music is rhythm.

The folk song of East and Central Europe frequently voiced the cares, sorrows, and tribulations of the maid, wife, or mother. Besides being sad to begin with, it was sad in a feminine way; thus we get the lachrymose sentimentality combined frequently with a lush saccharine quality so often taken for, or parodied as, typically "Jewish Music." A principal melodic device is the use (better said, abuse) of the interval of the

augmented second; this is frequently sung in a voice tearfully, sobbingly sad. Popular and semi-popular Jewish songs exploit this device, and the inferior quality of the music is frequently matched by the execrable taste of the performer. That the augmented second in itself need not be lachrymose is attested to not only by its effective use in Oriental music, but by its use in so many passages of Bach.

Towards the end of the last century, there was a tendency among organized groups to make collections of native folk-music. This was the result of two trends; the first was the intensification of national consciousness, the second, the growing realization that the resources of western diatonic music were nearing exhaustion. There was a feeling that new materials closer to the respective composers, could be found in, or developed from, folk-music. As a result, French, Russian, English, and various Slavic societies were organized for the express purpose of finding and exploiting native musical materials. Jewish music was affected by this trend, and collections were made on a hitherto unparalleled scale. A complete musical thesaurus in ten volumes of Idelsohn is by far the most important; other collections include those by M. Kipnis, I. L. Cahan, and F. M. Kaufman.

The third type of authentic material is to be found in Chassidic music. Chassidism (rhapsodic pietism) was a Jewish religious movement particularly active in Eastern Europe during the last century and a half. It was an expression of the desire for free spirit in worship as opposed to literalness, the sterile ritual which had come to characterize Talmudic Judaism. The movement first centered around Israel Baal Shem-tov (the miracle worker), who lived between 1700 and 1766 in Poland.

In direct opposition to the dictum of Hosea "Rejoice not, O Israel," in direct opposition also, to the tradition of sorrow

and grieving, was the belief of Chassidism that the joyous and ecstatic state was the one closest to Godliness. From this viewpoint there exists a certain kinship with the Cabbalistic movement of Isaac Luria (1534-1572). Luria, too, believed in the power of music to evoke a religious joyousness, saying: "The Divine Spirit (Shekina) dwells among us only when we are joyous."

Religious ecstasy was sought as that condition by means of which the Soul would be disassociated from the body, rendering the union of Spirit and God more complete. For the highest good was thought to be the sense of oneness with God. Music, consequently, was a most important factor; combined with dancing, it led to that inspired ecstasy (hithlavuth) on the wings of which the Spirit might soar to join its Creator.

"All melodies," wrote one sage, Reb Nachman, "are derived from the source of sanctity from the temple of music. Impurity . . . knows no joy, for it is the source of all melancholy. Music originates from the prophetic spirit, and has the power to elevate one to prophetic inspiration."

Many of the Chassidic chants (Nigunim) are without words, "for the song of the Souls . . . at the time they are swaying in the high regions to drink from the well of the Almighty King consists of tones only, dismantled of words." A text, too, would bring the vocal melody to a conclusion; the absence of a text allowed repetition or improvised extensions that made for a feeling of "endlessness." It is interesting to note that the "Alleluia" of the ancient Synagogue, later taken over by the Church, was also sung without words. Concerning this practice, St. Augustine wrote: "One who is jubilant does not utter words, but sounds of joy without words. The voice of the Soul overflowing with joy tries as much as possible to express its emotion . . . a joy so excessive that one cannot find words

for it. . . . And for whom has this 'jubilation' more propriety than for God the Un-speakable? Language is too poor to speak of God."

The music of the Chassidim was derived from ancient Synagogue modes, Talmudic chants, Oriental elements, Ukrainian and Slavic folk-song, and various dances. All of these were reintegrated in, and by, the spirit of Chassidism. One of the most characteristic aspects of Chassidic music is the syncopation and strongly marked rhythms; this in spite of the predominantly vocal medium, and because of its association with dance movements. The songs, or Nigunim, frequently followed a fixed pattern; starting quietly, they would gradually gain in intensity, dynamic inflection, and tempo. At the very end there would come a broadening for a final overwhelming outpouring of emotion. The dancing was marked by a restrained ecstasy rather than by Dionysian revelry; short steps, certain movements of prayerful upraised hands, and uplifted faces were characteristic of the dance—the steps and the movements gaining in intensity as the chanted music becomes faster.

However, not all of the dances or Nigunim were quick in tempo. Many of the Chassidic chants are quiet, reflective, introspective, marked by the mystic, the searching, the brooding, the sorrowful.

Despite the decline of the movement, the inherent folk-quality and the vitality of the music has insured its survival; this explains the fact that the music exists and is sung apart and aside from its religious context, by groups and individuals far removed from Chassidism.

The fourth type of authentic material is to be found in Palestinian music of the last few decades. This music is the result of the conflux of these forces: Zionism, Chassidism, and Orientalism. The musical materials, melody, harmony, and rhythm are derived from Biblical modes, folk songs, and Chassidic motives; in a round-

about fashion after two thousand years, these materials have come to the place of their origin. It is not surprising, then, to find them taking new root, and flourishing as would any growth, in the soil and climate where it is best nourished. Folk songs are most alive when there is "a direct historical connection between a people, a place, and a special way of life". This is true of music in Palestine; here, before the war, we could see, as it were, the development of folk songs before our eyes. For the first time in many, many years of Jewish history, there developed a music among the people that was an outgrowth of doing, of action, rather than of passive experience. It is not surprising, therefore, that we find a music more positive and assertive, both in its rhythm and its melody.

There is evidenced a renewed expression of a love for nature long suppressed and dormant in the hearts of a people whose forefathers tilled the fields and tended their flocks in the valleys and on the hills of Jerusalem.

The Chassidic songs and "Nigunim" are transfigured by the new environment; their syncopations and lively rhythms have a new significance. Workers' songs, growing out of day to day, first-hand contact with the earth, pass from person to person. There is a collection of, and wide-spread enthusiasm for, new folk music. National songs, characteristically marked in rhythm, affirmative in feeling, attest a new upsurge. The lively rhythm of the Hora is the call of Youth. It is in marked contrast to the old, tired, cloistered feeling of the majority of Ashkenazic folk songs.

Scale materials, so old they are new once again, motives from Biblical modes, and simple syncopations are among the components of the new Palestinian Folk-Song. Stefan Wolpe, head of the Palestine Conservatory of Music from 1934 to 1938, writes that "to the professional composer whose material is the European art music,

the Jewish and Arab Palestinian folklore opens up a fertile and rejuvenating world." Professional musicians in 1938 founded the "World Center of Jewish Music" in Palestine, electing as presidents Ernest Bloch and Darius Milhaud. Whether or not Jewish-Palestinian music will advance and fulfil those possibilities it seemed to possess is but one more post-war problem.

As for the material used by, or composed for, choirs, associated with Jewish fraternal or labor groups, a great part of such music derives from one of the aforementioned four types. The other portion is in the general category of non-Jewish music with a Jewish text. The melodies are frequently German or Russian in origin. In the case of original compositions, such as those of Jacob Schaefer, we find a combination of authentic Jewish motives with European materials. In his last works, Schaefer's treatment is more preponderantly European, deriving somewhat from contemporary musical tendencies.

We find, then that the authentically Jewish factors in music are the melodies and motives in the cantillations, the Biblical modes plus folk-song, Chassidic and Palestinian materials which, besides these modes, utilize some material in the minor scale. The question that presents itself at this point is how such material may be used.

To begin with, the harmonization must be in a manner consistent with, or at least not contradicting the implications of this material. The most direct and obvious treatment is the use of authentically Jewish melodies for voice or instrument, with or without accompaniment. This has been successfully accomplished in many instances. The second possibility is the use of melodies or rhythms, portions of melodies for development in larger works. The third possibility involves the use of original melodies based on the characteristic Jewish scales and motives mentioned above. The second and third treatments

are more difficult, for, if the material is to be integrated, it means that the composer must feel the music he writes, and not treat it "externally"; this, in turn, implies an integration and conditioning that is the result of environment, study, and application. Study and application are possible. Whether the "environment" exists or can be established outside of either Palestine or some other culturally autonomous community, remains an open question. Synthetic environments are set up in Jewish and Hebrew schools, and in Temple and Synagogue activities. While these may seem real and vital for a time, the validity of such an environment is of a limited and temporary nature. For, in respect to everyday life, business, social, cultural, the synthetic environment seems more and more artificial. At least, lip service is paid to a respected but distant and too often meaningless tradition; there is not that vitality that is found in a way of life, or in artistic expression immediately contiguous with its cultural sources.

It is possible to combine Judaic materials with the new devices of contemporary harmony and instrumentation. This is particularly true now because of the emancipating effect of a new musical idiom, a new concept of tone-relations. Paradoxically enough, this new concept leads to a better understanding and more consistent exploitation of the potentialities present in our centuries-old music. Contemporary composers now utilize scales and modes similar to those on which ancient Hebrew music was based. Their music is derived, not from the Biblical melodies themselves, but from the scales on which these melodies were constructed. This means, then, that there is greater promise of consistent treatment of traditional music. It also implies, for the larger forms of composition, a more extended development of material that will not now seem exotic or forced.

Composers and musicians interested in the creation of music Jewish in content

as well as in name are becoming increasingly aware of not only the problems but the possible solutions. The Palestine organization alluded to above is but one of a number of similar musical groups organized there. A few years ago, in New York, and more recently in Chicago, the "Jewish Music Forum" was organized in order to study and encourage the composition and performance of authentically Jewish music. The liturgical compositions of Ernest Bloch are symptomatic of this new tendency.

Jewish music up to the present has been principally of the functional and folk

variety. The use of Judaic materials in larger instrumental and vocal works poses many problems for the composer, but they are not insoluble. The self-conscious development of national expression always begins as a branch, an offshoot of the main current of musical development. Sometimes it remains so, but even then, it may form an important tributary. This tributary, besides contributing to the main stream, will have a self-sufficient importance, particularly for those whose musical needs and musical desires it can meet, to a degree and in a manner unparalleled by any other music.



A Market Scene

WILLIAM JACOBS

Jewish Settlement in Palestine

By ARTHUR RUPPIN

[1876-1943]

THE UNADORNED RECITAL of statistical figures is sufficient to illustrate the impressive record of sixty years of Palestine resettlement, which is one of the few successful "back-to-the-land" movements of our time.

Modern Jewish settlement in Palestine started in 1882 with six settlements and a rural population of 480. Today there are 71 settlements with a population of 150,000. There were three main periods of colonization.

In the course of the first 25 years of colonization (1882-1907), which proceeded mainly under the auspices of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, some 30 settlements were founded on an area of 80,000 acres. By 1907 the population of these settlements numbered 7,000 of whom 5,000 were engaged in farming and 2,000 in subsidiary occupations, such as handicrafts, marketing, transport, teaching, medicine, and administration.

During the second period, 1907-1931, modern Zionist colonization began. Of particular importance are the settlement of Jezreel Valley, and the rise of the citrus industry. The number of settlements increased to 124, their area expanded to 264,627 acres, and their population grew to 41,349, of whom 24,723 were farmers.

Snowball Rate of Increase

The third period, 1931-1940, will be remembered for the intensive settlement of the coastal plains of Sharon and Acre, the Beisan Plain, and Upper Galilee. The number of settlements increased during this period to the present figure of 271, the area to 392,000 acres, and the popu-

lation to 150,000, of whom 100,000 are directly engaged in agriculture. American Jews contributed to the founding of these settlements through the United Palestine Appeal.

A breakdown of these figures reveals a continuous acceleration of the pace of settlement. In the first period the average annual increase in farming population, including dependents, was 170, while in the latest period the annual increase was 3,700.

This snowball rate of increase is reflected in the rapid rise of the urban Jewish population, which, from a few scattered thousands at the end of the last war, has grown to 400,000, making a total of 550,000 persons in the Jewish National Home.

Recent developments make it certain that this rate of increase will continue to rise after the war. Newly discovered sources of water and methods of irrigation make possible a four- or five-fold increase in the present total irrigated area of 100,000 acres. Also, the home market for agricultural produce has considerably expanded, and a number of new products, previously unknown or rare in Palestine agriculture, are now successfully cultivated.

Most important of these is the lowly potato, a staple of the Jewish diet, which until four years ago was a big item on the import list. Then the problem of preserving the seed potatoes over the summer months was solved by the new methods of cold storage, and now Palestine produces its own potatoes and a good deal of those eaten by the British forces in the Middle East. Other new products

are ground nuts, sub-tropical fruits, and medicinal plants.

The increase in the home market is reflected in the five-fold rise in the settlements' receipts from milk, dairy products, eggs, poultry, fruits, and vegetables marketed cooperatively through *Tnuva* in the last ten years.

Motive Power of Home-Coming

The progress of Jewish agricultural settlement has both refuted the gloomy prophecies of the skeptics and opponents, and surpassed the anticipation of its friends. The achievements of Palestine colonization exceed by far the results secured by Jewish settlement projects anywhere else in the world (i.e., the Crimea, Argentine, and Birobidjan).

Jewish colonization in Palestine has provided conclusive proof of the qualities of the Jew as a pioneer colonizer and of the feasibility of large scale Jewish agricultural resettlement on economically productive foundations. The unique success of the Palestine settlement is not accidental. It has its roots in specific underlying factors which distinguish Palestine settlement from similar ventures elsewhere.

Jewish colonization in Palestine has derived its motive power from the high national ideal of the reconstruction of a Jewish homeland. This has elevated the difficult settlement effort from a mere struggle for economic betterment to a higher plane of human striving. The Jewish pioneer settler in Palestine knew that toil and sacrifice, not profit or comfort, would be his lot. There was for the settler no question of material calculations as to the profits he could obtain, or the comparative advantages of other occupations in which he might engage. Fired by devotion to an ideal, he was determined to stick through thick and thin to his task, even if from the purely material point of view it represented for him the most difficult and least profitable of the occupations he might choose.

Another reason for the success of the Palestine settlement is that Jewish colonization in Palestine developed a new and progressive type of agriculture better adapted to the Jewish settler's mentality and abilities. Jewish settlement has made use of all the results of modern scientific research to create an intensive system of agriculture in which the Jew could better apply his mental capacities and secure better returns than those prevailing in the primitive fellah agriculture.

Generally speaking, the basic tendency of Jewish colonization was not towards the adaptation of the Jewish standards of living to the low levels of native agriculture, but towards the creation of a modern system of agriculture which would enable the Jewish settler to maintain his higher standards, and to provide for his cultural, health, and hygiene requirements, and not the least, for the proper education and upbringing of his children.

In the long-range agricultural settlement program for Palestine planned by the Jewish Agency, the extension of settlements, the consolidation and expansion of those already established, plays a most important role in planning for the present day needs.

On land of the Jewish National Fund, since the beginning of the second world war, twenty-one new settlements have been established. The food grown in these settlements is of extreme importance, not only to fill the needs of the civilian population in Palestine today, but also because the garrisons of the United Nations stationed in Palestine must be fed. The war has made it impossible to import food either for the civilian or military population.

The Second Generation

The upbringing of a sturdy and devoted second generation is from the outset designed to make them familiar and attached to agricultural life. The settlers' children are at the age of sixteen much

better trained and equipped for agricultural life than their parents, who mostly grew up in cities and can rarely free themselves entirely from their early urban shell. Upbringing in the settlements provides a better agricultural education than any agricultural school can ever hope to give.

The rise of this second settler generation justifies high hopes of even greater achievement in the future than has been secured by the present generation of pioneer farmers. It must be mentioned, however, that the upbringing and education of the children represents a heavy financial burden for the settlers. As a result, the birth-rate in the settlements is comparatively low and more than two children per family is considered out of the settlers' reach. Consideration should therefore be given to the question of a special contribution from the central institutions which should shoulder part of the expenses of the upbringing of the third, fourth, fifth child of a settler and thus help to increase the birthrate.

Recently, the Palestine Government, at the request of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, permitted the entry into Palestine of some 6,000 Jewish refugee children who are now scattered throughout Nazi occupied Europe. With the opening of permanent immigration offices in Istanbul and Teheran, the Jewish Agency has made plans for the escorting of these children, upon their arrival in Iran and Turkey, to Palestine and the homes which are waiting for them in the settlements of Palestine. Here the children will find peace and the freedom and training which will adjust them psychologically for complete integration into their new life. So important does Palestine consider the problem of Jewish children made homeless as a result of the war, that the needs of these children have been declared to be the first charge on the resources of the Yishuv.

In conclusion, it may be said that per-

haps the greatest asset secured to date by Jewish settlement is the vast pioneering and agricultural experience which has been accumulated. Jewish agricultural settlement has definitely emerged from the experimental stage. The settlements of the Keren Hayesod have achieved a favorable economic position. They have accumulated capital of their own and are able to draw, when necessary, upon regular commercial credit. Evidence of this was given recently in the announcement that many of the settlements, in order to encourage the opening of additional settlements, paid in part or in full the loans which had been given them for livestock, seed, buildings, and other equipment. There was thus made available a substantial sum to help establish the new settlements for the thousands of refugees who will shortly look to Palestine as a harbor.

REB AKIBA

By SELWYN S. SCHWARTZ

The wind punched my ear
The white night called me Job
Upon the threshold the frost of fear
With weight of tears in each eye
Reb Akiba came by
And sang of wounds, the darkness was I.

The world drowned by bullet rains
Leviathan, my fish, a submarine
The rush of waves all around fiery tongues
The golden moon wounded still
Reb Akiba across the hill
Towers once more at the cruel wheel.

The shadow like Cain looks on
Clouding the Spring in each eye
The sun impondrous in a dark sea
Reb Akiba celestial unto me
From Dawn to dawn yes, I know thee
Wounded God in each dying tree.

The Anti-Semitism of T. S. Eliot

By LEO SHAPIRO

I

TO THE AVERAGE READERS, the poetry of T. S. Eliot is abstruse, confusing, and impossibly hard to understand. They feel with Max Eastman and numerous others that Eliot's poetry is "an oily puddle of emotional noises," "filthy bedlam raving," "erudite gibberish;" and they agree with Thomas Wolfe that the St. Louis Boy Blue is a pseudo-intellectual snob, with his Harvard-Sorbonne-Oxford education, his contemptuous rejection of middle-class America, and his pontifical utterances on any and all questions.

To others, Eliot is the supreme artist of modern English poetry, the most original and profound in approach, the most pervasive in his influence on his contemporaries and his successors. Some of his followers knew him in St. Louis, where he was born in 1888; some were students with him at Harvard (where he received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees in 1909-10), at the Sorbonne (1911-12), or at Merton College, Oxford (1912-14); some knew his work in *The Egoist* (1917-19), and especially in *The Criterion*, which he founded in 1922. But probably the majority of his admirers remember most keenly the "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," in *Poetry* for June, 1915; and the shocking impact of his tremendously influential poem, *The Waste Land*, which received *The Dial* award of \$2,000 for 1922.

As a result, many a modern critic is fond of describing the Great Tradition in English poetry as one which extends from Donne to Hopkins to Eliot. Critics of this school, in fact, are prone to ques-

tion whether a modern poet can legitimately write in another tradition or whether, if he is so audacious or unaware as to write in another tradition, he can be anything but mediocre.

Whether Eliot is as great a poet as his apologists affirm or as bad as his antagonists contend, he has certainly had enough vogue and influence to justify an examination of his views about the Jew—or about anything else. For after all there has been a long tradition of anti-Semitism or quasi-anti-Semitism in English literature, from Chaucer and his "cursed Jewes," to giants like Marlowe and Shakespeare, and lesser figures like Lamb and Carlyle. The explanation frequently given of this lamentable situation is that these thinkers were, after all, subject to the prejudices of their own day. To be sure, they were giants; but, it is argued, if they lived today, in an age of enlightened liberalism and humanitarianism, then they would speak differently about the Jew; then we would necessarily have a greater poetry, a broader and warmer conception of life—and so on. We cannot, of course, know what these writers would say if they were living today. But for many, Eliot is the closest figure in modern English poetry to the great ones of the English literary past. And so, not having the great ones of the past to look at, one wonders: What do the English-speaking poets of our day say of the Jew? What of the Jew in T. S. Eliot?

II

Eliot's depiction of the Jew in his poetry is at no time a full-length portrait. We do not have a complete pres-

entation of a personality as, say, in Shakespeare's Shylock or a psychological-philosophical cross-section of a personality as in Browning's Ben Ezra. Eliot's method, rather, is that of the incidental silhouette or, more exactly, the caricature. It suggests a personality, a type, and finally, implicitly or explicitly, a broad aspect of modern Jewish life as embodied in the type, proceeding by vivid, bold strokes, intensely suggestive and highly subjective.

"Sweeney Among the Nightingales"—to take a favorite poem of Eliot admirers—presents a dramatic and poignant contrast between the ugly reality of the scene described (the plotting of Sweeney's murder), and the beauty which is represented by the nightingales and the rich associations with which the nightingales are linked in the mind of the poet. The setting is a low-grade "inn;" the "characters" are Apeneck Sweeney, a man in mocha brown, a lady in a "Spanish cape" who "Tries to sit on Sweeney's knees," Rachel, the host who "with someone indistinct/Converses at the door apart"—all this depravity, this ugliness, so incredibly different from the beauty of the nightingales' singing nearby (so also Keats' "Ode to the Nightingale" and Robert Bridges' "Nightingales"), so different and yet similar to the moral evil which caused Agamemnon's dishonor and murder "within the bloody wood" where also the nightingales sang.

But in the midst of this ugliness, why Rachel? "Rachel née Rabinovitch/Tears at the grapes with murderous paws"—née Rabinovitch, like Quinn née Cohen, or Stone née Feinstein, tearing "with murderous paws" as she and the lady in the cape (and others?) plan to tear Sweeney. In short, if Eliot's line on Rachel means anything—and other evidence will show that it indeed does—it is describing an international Jew adventurer. But the scene is universalized by the nightingales and Agamemnon. This is not

a depravity; Sweeney is not a dishonored person. This is depravity, dishonor, with the international Jew adventuress playing a vicious role—playing, for to such as she, this is a game, a "gambit."

Is this interpretation extreme, unjustified by the poem? Perhaps, though I don't think so; for consider Eliot's poem, "Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar." "Burbank with a Baedeker"—the American in Europe, the Innocent Abroad, in Venice.

Burbank crossed a little bridge
Descending at a small hotel;
Princess Volupine arrived,
They were together, and he fell.

Here, again, is the Innocent, different but related to Sweeney, Agamemnon; Lilith in this case is Princess Volupine, the She-Fox incarnate. The story goes deeper than Princess Volupine:

But this or such was Bleistein's way:
A saggy bending of the knees
And elbows, with the palms turned out,
Chicago Semite Viennese.

A lustreless protrusive eye
Stares from the protozoic slime
At a perspective of Canaletto.
The smoky candle end of time

Declines. On the Rialto once.
The rats are underneath the piles.
The jew is underneath the lot.
Money in furs. The boatman smiles,
Princess Volupine extends
A meagre, blue-nailed, phthisic hand
To climb the waterstair. Lights, lights,
She entertains Sir Ferdinand

Klein. Who clipped the lion's wings
And flea'd his rump and pared his
claws?
Thought Burbank, meditating on
Time's ruins, and the seven laws.

As Princess Volupine is perhaps the female Volpone of Jonson's play, a phthisic synthesis of the voluptuous and vulpine, Bleistein is the male counterpart of Rachel. He is "Chicago Semite Viennese," the international Jew adventurer, his way, "A saggy bending of the knees/And elbows, with the palms turned

out . . ." "On the Rialto once." Once, things were different, when all of Shylock's gold could not buy him honor on the Rialto, when the Jew was at best a Merchant of Venice, spat upon and spurned even by his servants. But now, Eliot wails,

The rats are underneath the piles.
The jew is underneath the lot.
Money in furs.

The Jew can get a Princess Volupine to fleece the Burbank. The Jew can buy or sell Europe. "The jew is underneath the lot." The Princess is confined and surrounded by Bleistein and Sir Ferdinand—Klein. Sir, if you please (Eliot is surely saying), Sir Ferdinand Klein. "The smoky candle end of time/Declines . . ." Things are not as they were "once"—not on the Rialto, or in England, either. England, England. With Kleins becoming Sirs, Eliot's question is rhetorical:

Who clipped the lion's wings
And flea'd his rump and pared his
claws?

For Eliot, the answer is not: "Burbank with a Baedeker."

But this is not all. "Gerontion" suggests a related but (for Eliot) more fundamental problem. The poem begins as follows:

Here I am, an old man in a dry month,
Being read to by a boy, waiting for
rain.

I was neither at the hot gates
Nor fought in the warm rain
Nor knee deep in the salt marsh, heav-
ing a cutlass,
Bitten by flies, fought.
My house is a decayed house,
And the jew squats on the window sill,
the owner,
Spawned in some estaminet of Ant-
werp,
Blistered in Brussels, patched and
peeled in London.

Here is the rub: the house, *my* house is a "decayed house." "And the jew squats on the window sill, the owner . . ." The international Jew is the owner of the house.

Then there is a description of the Holy Communion, ("Christ the tiger . . . eaten . . . divided . . . drunk/Among whispers . . ."), The Mystical Body, and its connections with the renewing of life in the spring—except that for Eliot birth is curiously, significantly, death, and spring is "depraved May"—like the "April sunsets, that somehow recall/My buried life," in "Portrait of a Lady;" or "April is the cruellest month, breeding/Lilacs out of the dead land," in *The Waste Land*. Birth is death, for something has gone wrong. In the world which should be Christian, Eliot finds decay, not the Life but death and emptiness—"windy spaces," "vacant shuttles," "a draughty house . . ." Of course, the house is decayed; the Jew is the owner. "We have not reached conclusion when I/Stiffen in a rented house." The house is owned, but not entirely; it is rented. There is still a chance. "We have not reached conclusion . . ."

The Jew as curse—these poems are exactly in harmony with the "cursed Jewes" in Chaucer. This is, after all, a terrible indictment which Eliot presents, a horrible picture of vicious international and even universal knavery. The very word *Jew* seems to be for Eliot a cathartic subject, something to get out of his system. There is, for example, his French poem, "Dans le Restaurant," the last part of which he translates as "Death by Water" in *The Waste Land*, with this change in the conclusion:

Gentile or Jew
O you who turn the wheel and look to
windward,
Consider Phlebas, who was once hand-
some and tall as you.

The "Gentile or Jew" phrase is completely unmotivated by anything poetic; it is by no means an improvement on the original and different conclusion in the French poem.

Is there, as a matter of fact, a poetic motive for "Rachel née Rabinovitch" in

"Sweeney," or the Jew owner in "Gerontion," or Bleistein in "Burbank?" What is the poetic motive (the cause based on such a high degree and order of probability as to be poetically inevitable) of the biting prayer in "A Song for Simeon:"

Grant Israel's consolation

To one who has eighty years and no to-morrow.

What is the poetic motive of the music-hall take-off on Klipstein and Krum-packer ("American gentlemen here on business") in "Sweeney Agonistes" (with the meaningful passage from Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* which Eliot quotes as dramatic and warning commentary, "You don't see them, you don't—but I see them: they are hunting me down, I must move on")?

It is hard to know where Eliot stops, if anywhere; and one is in danger of losing his sense of proportion in trying to guess at Eliot's implications and suggestions about the Jewish Menace, implications and suggestions which, one need not say here, are themselves so out of proportion to the facts of the case. To take a few such possibilities: who is the subject of "Le Directeur;" or "Mélange Adultère de Tout;" or "the young man carbuncular" in *The Waste Land*, the "small house agent's clerk, with one bold stare,/One of the low on whom assurance sits/As a silk hat on a Bradford millionaire" who seduces the typist (the Bradford *nouveaux riches*, and the connection between the "old man . . . read to by a boy" in "Gerontion" and Tiresias in the seduction passage may add up to a characteristic Eliotian anti-Semitic stab); or the choruses in "The Rock," especially Part VII describing the abandonment of light for darkness, of GOD for Reason, Money, Power, Dialectic, so that the people (that is, Christians) now "stand with empty hands and palms turned upwards/ In an age which advances progressively backwards"? Is this the world showing Bleistein's influence, whose "way" was "with the palms turned out," and is there

any connection here with the "Backward devils" of "Gerontion"?

Yes, one is in danger of losing his sense of proportion. But what of Eliot's political views, or at least, the political affirmations and negations which, whether strictly his or not, appear in his poems? They are related to Eliot's conception of the Jew's role in modern society, and should certainly have a place in our discussion.

Eliot's poem *Coriolan* is divided into two parts. In the first, "Triumphal March," we see the setting of a great parade, a triumphal parade. The people, the Mob are here—"such a press of people"—with their vulgar noise, their "stools and sausages," waiting while their Ego perceives, eternally expressed in—what? "Here they come." Who are they? "Is he coming?" Who is he?

But first come the armaments, the machines of triumph (significantly, Eliot uses a catalogue from Ludendorf); and after they file slowly by, comes the *Deus ex machina*, here the *Deus post machina*. The god has come out of the machine; after the machine, comes the god.

This is the Leader, and the line which more than any other identifies him is characteristic of Eliot: "There is no interrogation in his eyes/Or in the hands . . ." His not to question; his to command, to lead. He is not to be confused with "the golf club Captains . . . the Scouts . . . the Mayor and the Liverymen."

That is all we could see. But how many eagles! and how many trumpets!
(And Easter Day, we didn't get to the country,

So we took young Cyril to church. And they rang a bell

And he said right out loud, *crumpets*.)

Don't throw away that sausage, It'll come in handy. He's artful. Please, will you

Give us a light?

Light

Light

Et les soldats faisaient la haie? ILS LA FAISAIENT.

The Leader commands, for the people cannot see. The people—Eliot's contempt of them, even hatred, is based on their short-sightedness ("That is all we could see"), even more on their indifference to religion and church (on Easter Day, nothing else to do so we went to church, and just at the climactic moment in the service—"they rang a bell"—young Cyril "said right out loud, *crumpets*"), on their imperturbable, unchanging vulgarity (sausages and cigarettes). "Please, will you/Give us a light?" Surely, Eliot suggests, they need more than a light. They need Light, Light, the Light of Christianity and, in the world of practical affairs, the Light of the Leader showing them the way they must go.

The last line, in French, sounds meaningless, irrelevant. "And did the soldiers make the line (literally, a hedge)? They made it." But the line is not irrelevant at all. As F. O. Matthiessen points out (in *The Achievement of T. S. Eliot*, pp. 82-83), it is a reminiscence of a passage from Charles Maurras' pro-Fascist book, *L'Avenir de l'Intelligence* (The Future of the Intelligence), in which Maurras scoffs at the fickle genuflections of the mob before each new hero.

Eliot agrees with Maurras that there are too many new heroes, but not a Hero, a Leader. The heroes are beset with the trivia of the democratic process. Eliot enumerates some of these in "Difficulties of a Statesman," the second part of *Coriolan*.

Cry cry what shall I cry?

The first thing to do is to form the committees:

The consultative councils, the standing committees, select committees and sub-committees.

One secretary will do for several committees.

What shall I cry?

Arthur Edward Cyril Parker is appointed telephone operator

At a salary of one pound ten a week rising by annual increments of five

shillings

To two pounds ten a week; with a bonus of thirty shillings at Christmas

And one week's leave a year.

A committee has been appointed to nominate a commission of engineers To consider the Water Supply.

Committees and committees and committees to investigate investigations of committees—about "perpetual peace" and the "reduction of orders"—about anything. "Meanwhile the guards shake dice on the marshes . . ." So Eliot asks, "May we not be some time, almost now, together . . .?" No, he cannot quite say it—just, "May we not be . . .?" Or must we remain with the trivia?

Eliot's answer is fairly clear. Even if his poems do not describe his own views, it is an odd coincidence that they should contain so many anti-Semitic and anti-democratic declarations. Is Eliot one more instance of the by-word which may have as much truth as popularity: "Scratch an anti-Semite and find a Fascist-Nazi?" (Interestingly enough, Eliot's old friend and ideological confrere, Ezra Pound, will shortly be indicted for treason by the U. S. Department of Justice.) One answer of Eliot protagonists—notably his able but uncritical defender and interpreter, F. O. Matthiessen (p. 71)—is the natural and obvious warning that one must not directly read "a poet's life (or the critic's own prepossessions) into a poet's work." After all, they would ask, how can one be certain that Eliot the man appears in "Burbank" or "Gerontion" or *Coriolan*? Let us, they say, focus our attention on the work of art as a totality with integrity and independence, and as an end in itself.

But much as aestheticians may wish, one cannot elude the inescapable fact that a work of art is the product of a particular person having particular "prepossessions" of his own. Is Eliot the poet in no respect identifiable with Eliot the man? A consideration of Eliot's lectures and essays should throw some light on this

problem; for these make his views more definite and give them an unmistakable direction.

III

In *After Strange Gods*, the compilation of a series of lectures which he delivered at the University of Virginia in 1933, Eliot writes (p. 20):

The population should be homogeneous; where two or more cultures exist in the same place they are likely either to be fiercely self-conscious or both to become adulterate. What is still more important is unity of religious background; and reasons of race and religion combine to make any large number of free-thinking Jews undesirable. . . . And a spirit of excessive tolerance is to be deprecated.

The use of the pseudo-restrictive modifier, "free-thinking Jews" is as superfluous and unnecessary as Professor Paul Shorey's similar remark, in the discussion of Plato's *Gorgias* in his *What Plato Said*, about the "Russian Jew immoralist;" or as Lancelot Hogben's comment about "Jewish communists" in his *Retreat from Reason*. This is a favorite semantic trick of anti-Semites and quasi-anti-Semites.

Eliot the lecturer and essayist is still Eliot the poet, analytical and oh-so-intellectual, and falling an easy prey to the myths about Jews which belong to the barber-shop and on the street-corner.

So there shall be few "free-thinking Jews" (whatever that means) in Eliot's society, few liberals or naive persons who have "a spirit of excessive tolerance." Eliot disapproves of "excessive tolerance," of emotion. His approach to world problems—to use one of his favorite terms in describing himself—is "intellectual." This intellectualism is the basic attitude which appears repeatedly in his writings; and oddly enough, it serves as a kind of base on which Eliot constructs his many animosities, anti-Semitism among them.

Even today, Eliot is still the cold, formidably starched "intellectual" that he

and his extreme followers have always been. In the *Partisan Review* for November-December, 1942, Eliot says what he has been saying with tedious reiteration, that "the poet is no more concerned with the social consequences than is the scientist in his laboratory." This is our old Eliot, the intellect-lover and the emotion-hater. It is the Eliot who approved in his journal (in *The Criterion* in January, 1926), of the tendency in the Twenties "toward a higher and clearer conception of Reason, and a more severe and serene control of the emotions by Reason." It sounds excellent until one sees the "neorationalists" whom Eliot had in mind: Georges Sorel, Charles Maurras, Julien Benda, Irving Babbitt; these were four of the six, and what a lot of anti-Semitic Fascists they are.

But Eliot distinguished them from Fascists with characteristically cold aloofness. In *The Criterion* for December, 1928, and July, 1929, Eliot pointed out that he was in favor of neither Communism nor Fascism, which were "well-meaning" but materialistic and relatively superficial "revolts against capitalism." As an "intellectual"—that word again—he was attracted to the "order and authority" of Fascism; but he felt he could find these attractions "in a more digestible form" in the work of Charles Maurras and the *Action Française* the "idea of loyalty to a King, who incarnates the idea of the Nation."

Many will wonder whether the *Action Française* political movement is Fascism or Nazism with a French accent. In everyday matters, it certainly seemed to be. The followers of the *Action Française* shouted a great deal about "France for the French" and the Jewish bankers and "better Hitler than Blum" but above all "France for the French"—and when Hitler came in, these super-nationalists forgot all about their slogans and wined and dined the Nazis, whenever they could,

and Maurras himself became a favorites with the Vichyites and the Nazis. To the victors belong the spoiled. And so Eliot has been capable of the excessive nationalism of the *Monsters of Darkness*, as in his absurd discussion of France and England in *The Criterion* for October, 1923; as for the Spanish War, intellectual-ity or something would not permit to ally himself with what he called communist and "irresponsible 'anti-fascist'" groups.

Eliot's views on society may be seen in detail in *The Idea of a Christian Society*, a compilation of three lectures delivered in March, 1939, at Cambridge. Here are some characteristic bits from that work:

... Totalitarianism can retain the terms "freedom" and "democracy" and give them its own meaning: and its right to them is not so easily disproved as minds inflamed by passion suppose. We are in danger of finding ourselves with nothing to stand for except a dislike of everything maintained by Germany and/or Russia: a dislike which [is] a compost of newspaper sensations and prejudice...

That is all our dislike of Germany is, of course—"a compost of newspaper sensations and prejudice." If you don't believe it, ask Eliot.

Our "analyst" goes on to tone down our objections "to oppression and violence and cruelty" which are only objections "to means and not to ends." He wants "nothing less than a Christian organization of society" in which there is a "unified religious-social code of behavior." He questions whether democracy is necessarily any less inimical to Christianity "in practice" than "another" type of government is "in theory." "If you will not have God (and He is a jealous God) you should pay your respects to Hitler or Stalin."

Eliot is equally bad in his notes—and with Eliot, there must always be notes

to make subtleties more subtle. He quotes General J. F. C. Fuller, "one of the two British visitors to Herr Hitler's birthday celebrations," who placing "duty to the nation before individual rights," calls himself a "'British Fascist,' and believes that Britain 'must swim with the out-flowing tide of this great political change' (i.e. to a fascist system of government)." Eliot's comment is shockingly revealing: "From my point of view, General Fuller has as good a title to call himself a 'believer in democracy' as anyone else."

It takes a certain narrowness to overlook terror and pillage and urbanely approve of generals who advocate world slavery as merely the "out-flowing tide" (or like-minded ex-colonels who call it the "wave of the future"). It takes a narrow heartlessness, cold and unfeeling as death, to look at the rape of Spain and the massacre of the innocents of Central Europe, and coolly categorize our tears and the frenzy in our blood as—prejudice, prejudice and excessive emotion. But Eliot has his little answer. Above all, "this above all," Eliot insists on preserving proper distinctions. More important than helping the suffering women and children in Spain is keeping away from "irresponsible 'anti-Fascists.'" Of course, Eliot would say with his starched-collar accents, it's too bad that people are being slaughtered by the thousands and tens of thousands, of course it's too bad, but, but—let's not confuse our objections to means and to ends. After all, we don't want to be emotional about this, do we?

How sad it is when culture, brilliance, insight, originality—and Eliot at his best has surely had all these—fuse and petrify into hardness, coldness, sterility.

Our conclusion is clear: it is no poetic motive which impels Eliot to put anti-Semitic elements into his poetry. Eliot the poet is the same anti-democratic, anti-liberal anti-Semite as Eliot the man—unfeeling rather than unemotional, "intellectual in quotes."

A Wagnerian Fantasy

By OTTO EISENSCHIML

HE WAS THEN in his early 'teens, and his name was still Adolf Schicklgruber. In Vienna they had apprenticed him to a house-painter, but he never did take kindly to house-painting. Houses in Vienna were made of brick, anyway, and painting meant no more than white-washing. The inside walls were usually calcimined in stencilled patterns, and all these patterns were desperately alike. In later years, his enemies, with unintended flattery, would call him a paperhanger; they did not know that Vienna hardly knew the meaning of that word, for most Austrians were too poor to use wallpaper.

Adolf did not like Vienna. Everybody made fun of his up-state dialect, and when he sat down with other workmen to a glass of beer, he could not interest them in world politics for which he always had a ready tongue. A short time ago Japan had defeated Russia, and young Schicklgruber loved nothing better than to fight that war over, his face flushed with excitement, his wet fingers drawing wavering battle lines on the oiled table cloth. Smart fellows, those Japs. Took the Russians unawares when they fired their torpedoes before declaring war. Hitting below the belt? He laughed gleefully. Of course, it was hitting below the belt, but it had won, had it not? One thing he remembered from his school book history—the side that won never had to do any explaining. The victor wrote the peace terms and the history books as well. Still, one had better keep an eye on those Japs. It would not do to let them ride too high. The Kaiser of Germany was right—a yellow peril was something with which

the future would have to reckon. If the Japs and the Chinese ever became allies, it meant goodbye to the white race. Why did the dullards make fun of Kaiser Wilhelm instead of listening to him?

The crowd grinned good-naturedly when Adolf delivered his harrangues; no one argued with him, because no one took him seriously. The fools, the swine. No wonder. There were more Czechs and Poles among them than Viennese, judging by their names. And the Viennese were a soft-bellied lot too, all of them, what with their silly airs of superiority towards provincial newcomers and their eternal gossip about theatres, actors and music.

One day Adolf's foreman had a funny experience. At least he thought it was funny. The boss had given him an opera ticket which he himself did not want to use. What would men who worked with their hands do at the opera? Give them a singer with a guitar and a fund of sentimental melodies, that was music they understood. The ticket made the rounds at the beer table. Since no one else seemed interested, Adolf took it. For the first time he looked at the theatrical page of a newspaper; they were going to perform "Die Walküre" that night. Well, whatever "Die Walküre" was, Adolf would go and hear it.

During the first act Schicklgruber was bored. He had never liked music, did not understand it, and now he could not even make out the words. It was not until Wotan took command of the stage that he became interested. Wotan, the king of the gods, the master of the world, on whose spear all the laws of the universe were engraved! It seemed Wotan could do any-

thing, so long as it did not run counter to his own laws. That would be eminently satisfactory to Adolf, if he ever held that power. Once Wotan had cunningly tried to circumvent the laws on his spear, but his wife Fricka had found him out. Adolf would keep away from women. No Fricka would ever find him out, and if anyone else did, he would strike him down with a bolt of lightning, as Wotan had struck down Siegmund.

The beer table scarcely recognized Adolf during the next few weeks. He had stopped his political orations; in fact, he seldom spoke at all. Once he asked some questions about a man named Richard Wagner, but the workmen only knew a Wagner who ran a butchershop in the next block where you could buy horse-meat at low prices. But this man Wagner's name was Franz, not Richard.

Schicklgruber's mind was in Walhalla. Some day he would have a Walhalla of his own, like Wotan, and watch those who built it for him fight and destroy each other. He would make sure there would be no Czechs or Poles or Hungarians among his chosen followers. Nor many Viennese either; only Germans of pure stock, and they all would have names like those which Wagner used—Donner, Loge, Walsung.

After his first operatic experience the young painter went to hear the *Ring of the Niebelungs* whenever it appeared on the repertoire. Soon he knew the text by heart and could recite it almost verbatim. Here was a world much to his liking. Distrust, brutality, treachery, those were things he understood and approved. He sensed neither the beauty nor the profound philosophy of Wagner's works; he saw only Alberich rob the Rhinedaughters, Wotan and Loge scheme to crush Alberich, Fafner slay his brother for the sake of gold. In these plots neither culture nor righteousness triumphed. Sieglinde's rape by Hunding went unpunished. Fafner remained in possession of his ill-

gotten plunder. If Adolf could reconstruct the world, it would be like that. . . .

Adolf idolized all the operas of the *Ring*, but he was vaguely disturbed by the *Götterdämmerung*. Had he been Wotan, he would not have relinquished his power so easily. True, the spear on which the laws were recorded had been broken, but what of it? Adolf would have got himself a new spear and made new laws.

In the weeks that followed Adolf composed as bold a hymn of hatred and bloodshed as had ever been written. But now the question arose how to bring it before the public. The beer table was importuned for whatever advice it could offer.

The beer table, however, had scant information on poetry. One of its members recalled hazily that a nephew of his had once written something which he had taken to the editor of the *Tageblatt*, a Mr. Schlesinger. Perhaps that was the way to go about it. So Adolf put on his Sunday suit, polished his shoes, and went to the office of the *Tageblatt*.

Mr. Schlesinger was a black-haired, lean man with a long nose, on which his spectacles sat uncertainly. He let his visitor state his errand, read his effusion, and guffawed. Then he opened the door into the next room and clapped his hands. "Come on boys," he shouted; "want to hear something good?"

A few men with green shades over their eyes appeared in the doorway.

"Meet Mr. Adolf Schicklgruber," said Mr. Schlesinger, with a mock bow, "and listen to some poetry."

Mr. Schlesinger read the poem slowly and with an accentuated nasal twang. A roar of laughter greeted each line. Adolf's face reddened. His first impulse was to tear the paper from the editor's hands, but he restrained himself. Instead, he studied the other man's features. This fellow would pay for his fun some day. If Mr. Schicklgruber were Wotan, he would exact payment from all Jews for this insult offered him by one of their

laugh while you may. This was only the beginning of the play. Let them murder his first act, if they wanted to. The Jew would appear in a following act, and there would be no laughter in it.

On his way out, Adolf was stopped by a middle-aged man with faded blue eyes and unruly hair. His name was Weisslechner, he said, and he wanted to have a talk with the young poet. Adolf's eyes glistened. Here was one man who understood him.

Weisslechner was a reporter. He was not a good reporter; he was bitter and disgruntled, but he had the answers to many of Adolf's questions. The newspapers, he declared, molded public opinion. When it came to music and art, their critics had about all the say. They could make a man or break him. Just to show what they could do, they had once banded together and made a young boy produce a silly play which they had conspired to make a success. A few weeks later, it had been shown that the author was an idiot under court guardianship. And all that time the reviewers had sat in their favorite café celebrating their victory, elated because they had fooled their readers.

The reporter was astonished that his listener showed no indignation; he only wanted to know how the readers had reacted when the truth had come out. What, they had shown no resentment? The critics had not been ousted? This was interesting indeed. Was it that easy, then, to fool the men in the street? Was their memory for mental insults so poor?

Weisslechner was disappointed. He tried a new line to arouse the young painter against the daily press. Did Adolf know what the musical critic of Vienna's leading paper had done to Wagner in his early days? After the first performance of *Lohengrin*, he had written this in the *Neue Freie Presse*:

"*Lohengrin* is an opera performed by

five men, two women and one swan. The swan was the star of the evening; it kept quiet."

The reviewer and his cohorts had hounded Wagner from pillar to post. But the composer had laughed at them, and in his *Meistersinger* had gained a final triumph over his detractors. Did Adolf know the *Meistersinger*? No? The theme of the opera was a poetical mirror of Wagner's own strife. A young knight named Stolzing had come to Nuremberg to compete in a musical contest. He knew no rules, but he had listened to the birds, and when he sang, he moved people's souls. Everyone's except the critics'. They had no souls. All they had were books with rules in them, rules, rules, rules. To them the newcomer's music was heresy. They tried to down him by tangling him up in those silly arbitrary rules; but the people had taken things into their own hands, brushed the critics aside, and awarded the young knight the prize.

Adolf went to see the *Meistersinger*. Here was the last great revelation: a *genius was above the law*. Adolf would always make his own laws, and eventually the world would set them up as the code which all had to obey. Wagner had stated Adolf's case beautifully when he spoke of the young knight as a born master. Adolf threw out his chest and stroked his mustache. Adolf Schicklgruber, the knight, the born Master. That was it—the born Master, the Master of men.

Schicklgruber and Weisslechner met often, and the conversation invariably turned into the same channel. Schicklgruber was convinced that he was destined to become a leader, but was being held down by forces that were firmly entrenched, and against which he was temporarily powerless. His name also was like fetters around his wings. Schicklgruber,— how could anyone become famous with a name like that? It was a peasant's name, smelling of soil and sweat, fit only for the homey vocabulary

race. Laugh on, you dunces, he thought, of the Danube region. Even the greatest of Austrians,—Anzengruber, Bauernfeld, Grillparzer—had been buried under their ungainly names and remained unknown outside their own country. Weisslechner could tell a story about that. When Lord Byron had passed through Vienna in 1826, on his way to Greece, he read Grillparzer's *Ahnfrau*. "What a name for a poet," he exclaimed; "but I think the world will have to get used to it." Well, the world had not got used to it. Even in Germany not one man in a thousand knew Grillparzer. Schicklgruber saw that he would have to do two things: leave Austria and change his name. Austria was too full of aliens who did not understand Wotan. Germany was the place for him. He would meet the Germans on even terms and give them no chance to look down on his name.

Vienna had become too small for a man of Schicklgruber's ambition. Destiny, he felt, was calling him to larger fields. He moved to Germany. He changed his name to Hitler. He tried hard to live down his Austrian dialect. Only when he became excited one had the fleeting impression of a country boy who had come from a farm across the border.

The first important step lay behind him. The long climb to the top had begun. He thought of the Norns, the three maidens who, according to the old German saga, wove the future of the universe. Their fingers always found the threads from which were made the great men who shaped events; eventually they would find him, too; for Hitler would some day shape the future of the universe. The Norns would not much longer dare to ignore him.

Came 1914 and war. It was not Schicklgruber, the Austrian, but Hitler, the German, who marched to the fighting front. The Walküre's battle-cry echoed in his ears, and when he clutched the bayo-

net in his hands he thought it was Siegfried's sword and that it made him invincible.

After four years of slaughter he returned, sound of body, but with venom in his heart. He did not return to the small beer table in Vienna; instead he went to the large beer halls of Germany. He did not talk to little groups now; sizable mobs listened to his tirades, and they listened avidly, for they were discouraged, poor, hungry. They believed in him and in his visions. In the end he would fool them, of course; he had learned something about playing with the faith of the lowly. In the meantime let the number of his disciples grow; a few years and there would be millions of them. A Walhalla was being built for him. Soon he would be Wotan himself. The primitive laws of the ancient German saga would come back. This time the spear would be in Hitler's hands, and he would engrave on it whatever laws suited him.

The three Norns, weaving the fate of mankind, stopped with a cry of alarm. A new thread had entered into their magic fabric. It was a coarse thread from which their soft, tapering fingers shrank with loathing. Desperately they tried to disentangle it, but their hands tired. The coarse thread continued to wind sinuously through their divine pattern, spreading, spreading, spreading. Ugly patches of red began to blot out what the gods had held sacred and men had thought beautiful.

In his newly-built Walhalla stood Hitler the Master, powerful, relentless, uncouth. Spectres from past ages, long believed buried, crowded around him, preaching brutality, rape, treachery. He was their new leader, their hero. Huge forces of evil were gathering, steadily growing in their deadly strength. When they struck, they struck fiendishly and without mercy. Then the sun went down in a crimson cloud, and darkness descended on an unhappy world.



"We Are Coming, Father Abraham!"

N. P. STEINBERG

Fascism and American Slavery

By HARVEY WISH

HISTORIANS HAVE OVEREMPHASIZED the sectional character of the Negro's struggle for freedom, ignoring the world conflict of the mid-19th century between urban liberalism and reactionary rural traditionalism. After all, Jewish emancipation from the ghettos of central Europe, the parallel abolition of slavery in the empires of Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, as well as in the United States, and the destruction of serfdom in Russia and Rumania are integral parts of the same picture. A proper evaluation of Negro emancipation, therefore, requires an understanding of the roots of liberalism and also of the traditional philosophies of repression—today streamlined as fascism. Some historians have insisted that emancipation was a foregone conclusion simply because of the growing unprofitableness of slavery. Others point out that the perpetuation of slavery rested upon a determinant social factor—the insistence upon white supremacy in the South.

The role of liberal humanitarianism as a factor tending toward emancipation has not always been properly evaluated, even by Lincoln's contemporaries. Some have seen this philanthropy as a peculiar New England product of the 1830's; others, like Thomas Carlyle, saw the contemporary solicitude for the slave as a sinister attempt of wealthy industrialists to use the emancipation issue as a cloak for labor exploitation much closer home—in the Manchester mills, the London slums, and upon the fields of Ireland. Too little attention has been given to the influence of militant liberalism, then on the march, upon the attitude of the in-

tellectual classes. Today, as we observe the decline of that liberalism which reached its apogee in the mid-nineteenth century, we are increasingly aware of the vitality of what Carl Becker and Max Lerner have aptly called "the climate of opinion."

What was this climate of opinion in early Victorian England and the continent of that day? Briefly, it was a three-fold struggle of liberals, socialists, and a miscellaneous group of individualists for the heritage of the French Revolution, liberty, equality, and fraternity. The Revolution had become the symbol of eighteenth-century rationalism, individualism, and humanitarianism. During the ensuing period of reaction, economic liberals like Cobden, Bright, and Wilberforce argued that the salvation of society lay with the automatic controls of free competition, an attitude justifying slavery emancipation, but one that rejected trade unions and labor reforms as contrary to Saint Malthus. Socialists like Louis Blanc, Fourier, Robert Owen, and Karl Marx, offered various forms of collectivism, but nevertheless leaned heavily upon the philosophy of the Enlightenment and its concepts of individual rights and social equality. Against these programs of the middle class and the proletariat were pitted the feudal class-subordination principle of traditional rural society. Accepting under protest the abolition of serfdom and chattel slavery, the land owning aristocracy sought a formula to halt nascent liberalism by emphasizing Aristotelian ideas of natural class divisions within society. The devout of various classes rejected the atheism and material-

istic practices of the new dispensation and sought a fresh equilibrium in religious terms.

But the iconoclastic implications of *laissez faire* ideas brought with it an international struggle of the new and the old social orders which found expression in religion, science, literature, economics, political science, and sociology. This clash had direct repercussions upon the American scene. The urban character of New England's dominant culture found Manchester Liberalism much to its liking. Free enterprise, abolitionism, Unitarianism, women's rights, state-supported education, and the experimental outlook of New England's cultural leaders are but the recognizable facets of early nineteenth-century liberalism and romanticism. European socialism found expression in Horace Greeley's abolitionist doctrines; his *New York Tribune* even became the chief American outlet for the socialist articles of Karl Marx.

As the slavery issue became increasingly acute, the intellectual leaders of the plantation states drew attention to the diverse cultural paths travelled by the two sections. Slavery apologists like George Fitzhugh, George Frederick Holmes, William Grayson, and James D. B. De Bow emphasized the point that the real social struggle was between chaotic liberalism and traditional paternalism. The South, they insisted, was orthodox in faith, but New England was heterodox; the South represented the integrity of the family bond, while New England encouraged divorce, women's rights, and even free love. Southern slavery, they maintained, was the solution of the class struggle, but Northern liberalism subjected the Negro to the soulless exploitation of free competition.

Such contentions, typical of the pro-slavery argument in the 1850's, were drawn in large part from the contemporary European scene. The revolutions of 1830 and 1848, which preceded the great

Colonial emancipation laws, the dictatorship of Louis Napoleon, and the major food crises of 1846-7 were regarded by the pro-slavery writers as the inevitable consequences of liberal ideals. Only the vast free lands of the West, they asserted, saved the North from a similar carnival of destruction. Among the writings of the European enemies of liberalism, the slavery defenders found ample justification of their position, despite the fact that slavery in its chattel form was not an immediate European issue in the 1850's.

The cultural ties between Britain and America were always intimate for obvious historical reasons. These were accentuated by the American practice of publishing foreign works at an unusually low price. Messrs. Leonard Scott and Company of New York, for example, reprinted the five leading British journals, especially popular in the South, at one third of the price paid by the English reader. These were largely Tory—or at least moderately conservative—journals—*The Edinburgh Review*, *The London Quarterly*, *The Westminster Review*, *Blackwoods Magazine*, and the *North British Review*. The deep British interest in American slavery is attested by the fact that during the first year's publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, when Americans purchased 150,000 copies, Britons bought over one million. As Professor Frank J. Klingberg pointed out in his *The Anti-Slavery Movement in England*, it was Lord Brougham who repeatedly stated the doctrine of the "higher law," long before Seward naturalized the phrase for America.

Perhaps no other European provided the proslavery cause with the aid and comfort offered by Thomas Carlyle, then dean of English letters. His challenging works, written in a vitriolic spirit, such as *Past and Present*, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*, and *The Nigger Question*, while not intended primarily to justify slavery, made the word "philanthropy" appear

hypocritical, attacked the results of British emancipation, and subjected liberalism to the most punishing blows in its history. Refusing to consider the transitional problems of readjustment among newly-emancipated Negroes, Carlyle noted only the fact that a sharp drop in production had taken place and that consequently this type of philanthropy meant the encouragement of laziness, a relapse of the freeman into barbarism, and wholesale starvation for the civilized world. He recommended serfdom for the Negro of the British colonies and demanded the recall of the naval patrol off the African coast as ineffective in halting the slave trade.

Assuming the hopeless inferiority of the Negro, he asserted, "Heaven's laws are not repealed by earth, however earth may try . . ." Ideas such as emancipation were to him but "the sad product of a skeptical eighteenth century." The Negro of the West Indies had then only the right to be *compelled* to work as much as he was able and to "do the Maker's will, who had constructed him with such and such prefigurements of capability." This was true liberty.

It is not surprising that Carlyle, despite his more humane writings upon labor in other works, should have become the authority par excellence upon slavery to the defenders of that peculiar institution. *De Bow's Review* eagerly printed Carlyle's attacks upon free labor and a host of friendly commentators discussed the Scotchman's position in the *Review* and other journals of the South. For George Fitzhugh, pro-slavery militant, Carlyle provided many a text, including the subtitle, *Slaves Without Masters* in the Virginian's book, *Cannibals All!* Although the South was not prepared for some of Carlyle's hero-worship, several prominent writers commented favorably upon his doctrines of political leadership and his caustic estimate of parliamentary government. A confirmed romanticist,

Carlyle tended to draw an idyllic picture of medieval serfdom at the expense of modern society.

Another English writer, Sir Archibald Alison, conservative historian popular in Carlyle's day, gave further comfort to the South. Writing of the British West Indies after emancipation, he declared, "The negroes, who, in a state of slavery, were comfortable and prosperous beyond any peasantry in the world, and rapidly approaching the condition of the most opulent serfs of Europe, have been, by an act of emancipation, irretrievably consigned to a state of barbarism." A similar judgment expressed by the ultra-conservative *London Times* received immediate currency in Southern pro-slavery propaganda. Such attacks upon Britain's great abolitionist experiment of freeing 800,000 slaves in her empire did much to buttress the slave regime in the United States against those who desired emancipation. This alleged failure of philanthropic efforts in the British possessions was coupled in the Southern press with the ever-present bogey of Haitian insurrections.

Slavery defenders professed to see hypocrisy in the official acts of the emancipationist nations, England, France, and Spain. As the world market for tropical products increased during the early fifties, plantation owners became increasingly aware of the inadequacy of their labor supply. The *London Times* recommended a system of "apprenticed Africans" which did not differ materially from slavery; and the British colonial press also agitated for such a solution. Experiments with oriental labor soon began. In France, Louis Napoleon announced an ambitious scheme of importing Africans as apprentices. The Spanish government, spurred on by colonial planters, appointed General Concha as governor of Cuba, apparently upon a tacit agreement of permitting illicit cargoes of slaves to be landed on the island.

Many New England shippers found new employment for the declining clipper by reviving the African slave trade, and prominent Southern families demanded that their section be permitted to acquire cheaper slaves from the Guinea Coast. Fitzhugh insisted that England and France, through their coolie and apprentice labor, endangered the prosperity of the South and, hence only the repeal of the laws restricting the foreign slave trade could save his section. The subsequent agitation over revival became a bitter political issue and was not disposed of until the stubborn resistance of the slave-exporting border states became manifest.

For those less interested in the subtleties of the contemporary struggle over liberalism, there was always the refuge of racist ideas which would condemn the Negro to perpetual servitude, and here again the European scene had much to offer. Most famous in the history of racial thought is the name of Count Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, a French publicist, whose book, *The Moral and Intellectual Diversity of Races*, was published in the United States in 1856. Gobineau accepted a theory of racial determinism, since exalted by the racists of contemporary Germany, that relegated the Negro to a permanent position of inferiority. It was scarcely fortuitous that the English edition of the French work was prepared by the prominent Southern anthropologist, Dr. J. C. Nott of Louisiana, an intimate friend of De Bow. In that edition Nott praised highly Gobineau's main contention regarding the "permanency of the actual moral, intellectual, and physical diversities of races", and added this endorsement, "I regard most of his conclusions as incontrovertible." Nott had had an earlier opportunity to call popular attention to the merits of Gobineau in his book, *Types of Mankind* which he wrote in collaboration with George Gliddon.

When John C. Calhoun borrowed Poland's reactionary institution of the *liberum veto* as the basis for his doctrine of concurrent majority another significant relationship was evident. Just as the Polish feudalistic landowners had protected their narrow class interests by agreeing that the veto of a single noble would suffice to block a legislative proposal, so Calhoun adopted this doctrine to protect Southern minority interests. This might possibly have led to the same legislative chaos that characterized eighteenth-century Poland and had made the partition of that unfortunate nation simple for the invader. The successors of Calhoun found it necessary to reject completely Jeffersonian democracy which was based on liberal premises and the slaveholders' society was eulogized as the best bulwark against the corrosive ideas of social equality.

European liberalism did not die out in the South, but the younger adherents of the Jeffersonian tradition found it politic to maintain a discreet silence. The universities, which might have been the champion of a freer philosophy, became the militant foes of equalitarianism, and appointed to their staffs leading slavery proponents such as Thomas R. Dew, Albert T. Bledsoe, J. C. Nott, J. D. B. De Bow, and George Frederick Holmes. French principles of liberty came to mean Haitian and Latin-American anarchy, a standing invitation to slave insurrections. English travellers, like Lyell, Mackay, and Sterling, who were outspoken in condemning slavery, met with a fierce journalistic rebuttal which revealed a growing sectional immunity to criticism. The transparent complacency implied in the phrase "Cotton is King" was obviously a challenge to Europe as well as to the North.

Southern publicists speculated upon the creation of an independent planter's civilization, representing a cultural as well as political revolution; and roman-

ticists portrayed the South in terms of Walter Scott's glorified version of feudal society. Ignoring historical realities, they wrote that noble southern cavaliers, descendants of the best blood of Old England, were locked in combat with Northern Roundheads, the offspring of money-changers and regicides. The election of Abraham Lincoln as president on a platform reaffirming the Declaration of Independence, which was a direct product of English liberalism, appeared as a formal challenge to the new popular philosophy of the slaveholder and his allies.

The lesson of European doctrinal influences upon the United States during the ante-bellum era has obvious applica-

tions to our contemporary society. Any defense of a social order, based on the negation of human freedom, must be drawn from the same reactionary sources as those which justified the slavery of the Negro. It is indeed significant that during the six years preceding the rise of Hitler to power, the reading of Carlyle's works attained a fresh vogue and a sale of 300,000 copies. Nor can one overlook the fact that Count Gobineau furnished a common source for racist doctrines, both in the ante-bellum South and in Nazi Germany. The logic that would enslave the human spirit has an ancient historical inheritance despite the varying forms that repression may take.



Fertility

A. RAYMOND KATZ

Introducing the Canadian Jew

By SAMUEL LAWRENCE

AMERICAN JEWRY has made much of the rather belated recognition accorded to the Jew, Haym Salomon, for the role he played in the War for Independence, and for the invaluable assistance he was able to give George Washington in the fight for freedom. Few Americans know, however, that there was another Jew who also contributed greatly to the colonial cause, though not of his own free will, and who, as in the case of Haym Salomon, was never reimbursed for the large sums of money he expended for the colonial armies. By a curious coincidence this man bore the same surname as did Haym Salomon, but he used the more conventional spelling of this name. He was Levy Solomons, a Canadian Jew.

Levy Solomons first appeared in Canada shortly after that country had been ceded to the British in 1763, by the terms of the Treaty of Paris. Not much is known of his background, but we do know that he lived in Albany prior to his arrival in Montreal. He became one of the more successful of that band of pioneers who made their living by trading with the Indians, and before long he was conducting an extensive import and export trade between the cities of New York, Albany, Montreal, and London.

A small Jewish community had already been established in Montreal when Levy Solomons settled in that city, for many of the young Jewish soldiers who had come to Canada with the British armies, which had been sent out from England to wrest control of the colony from France, chose to remain in the new world after the war was over, rather than to

return to England. Not a few Canadian Jews can trace the history of their families to those ancestors who came to Canada as soldiers, and who remained in the colony as pioneer settlers.

Several Jews had figured prominently in the battles which were fought during the war, the most distinguished of these being Aaron Hart who was Commissary to the troops under General Amherst's command. While General Wolfe was defeating the French forces commanded by General Montcalm, in the battle which was fought on the Plains of Abraham at Quebec, Amherst attacked Montreal and soon took possession of that city. The British troops then advanced toward Quebec and had reached Three Rivers, which is half way between the two cities, when the war ended. It was here that Aaron Hart settled when he was released from military service. He became a prosperous land-owner, and was later named the Seigneur of Bécancourt. The descendants of Aaron Hart have been prominent in Canadian affairs, as well as in Jewish affairs, ever since.

A few years after Levy Solomons had settled in Montreal, the first Hebrew congregation in the Dominion of Canada was formed in the year 1768. As most of the early settlers were descended from Jews who had been exiled from Spain and Portugal, the congregation adhered to the Sephardic ritual. Although the name of "Shearith Israel" was given to the newly-formed group, it has always been more familiarly known as the Spanish and Portuguese Congregation, and is so known to this day. For ten years the congregation, which was not large enough

to support a synagogue, held services in a hall. During the year 1777, however, the first Jewish burial ground was acquired, and a short time later a synagogue was erected. Levy Solomons had taken an active interest in this enterprise, and it was largely through his efforts that a set of by-laws was drawn up and the synagogue formally inaugurated in the year 1778.

During the War for Independence, American troops under the leadership of General Montgomery invaded Canada in 1775, and took possession of the City of Montreal. Montgomery commanded Levy Solomons, who was by this time well established as a merchant and trader, to act as purveyor to the hospitals which were being used to care for wounded American soldiers. True to the Hebrew tradition of giving succour to the sick and the needy, Levy Solomons discharged this duty faithfully. The subsequent defeat of the American forces at Quebec, and the death of General Montgomery there, led to the withdrawal of the colonial army under the command of General Arnold, from Montreal. As he retreated, General Arnold seized large quantities of stores which belonged to Levy Solomons, and used this material to supply his troops until they were able to reach an American supply base.

Because he had given so much aid to the revolutionary forces, Solomons was considered as having been in sympathy with the American cause, and he was put to a great deal of suffering for having incurred the enmity of the British authorities. He was expelled from Montreal by General Burgoyne, and all his property was confiscated. Solomons and his family took refuge in Lachine, which today is but twenty minutes drive from the outskirts of Montreal, but which was considered as being a great distance away from the city at that time. He subsequently received a pardon from the British Governor, who allowed him to

return to Montreal where he was able to recover some of his losses. He also regained his prestige in the Jewish community, for we find that he later was named "Parnas," or president, of the congregation.

Another of the Jewish families which had been prominent throughout Canadian history is the family which was founded by Henry Joseph, a nephew of Commissary Aaron Hart, who arrived in Canada in the year 1790. He prospered greatly, and became one of the early mercantile princes. He was the first to build ships in Canada for transatlantic service, and he is generally credited with being the founder of the Canadian merchant marine.

No chronicle of Jewish activity in Canada would be complete without some mention of the de Sola family which, while not among the first families to settle in the Dominion, has been prominent in the Jewish community since the arrival of the Reverend Abraham de Sola in 1847 to take over the duties of rabbi to the Shearith Israel Congregation. He came of a long line of distinguished ancestors who first achieved some degree of prominence in Spain during the eighth century. Abraham de Sola was renowned in London Jewish circles as a scholar and as a prolific writer. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have been appointed to McGill University shortly after his arrival in Montreal.

Abraham de Sola was instrumental in making the first British good-will gesture toward the American Government following the dispute between the two countries over the Alabama Claims. At the express invitation of President Ulysses S. Grant, Rabbi de Sola officiated at the opening session of the United States Congress in 1872. For this service he received the official thanks of the British Government, and a personal note of gratitude from Prime Minister Gladstone. There is no doubt that this occasion contributed greatly toward promoting a spirit of tol-

erance and good-will toward Jews in the United States, as well as in Great Britain and Canada.

The surges of immigration into the United States, which commenced around the year 1850, had their counterpart in Canada, and with the coming of immigrant groups, Jews began to penetrate to all regions of the country. Congregations began springing up all over the Dominion. A large number of Jews followed the gold rush to the west coast, and in 1862 the Jewish community of Victoria, in distant British Columbia, founded a synagogue. The Jews of Toronto, in the Province of Ontario, had established a synagogue in the year 1852, and the second Hebrew house of worship in that province was built in Hamilton in 1882. Two years later the Jewish community of Winnipeg founded two congregations, and during the next decade Halifax, St. John, Ottawa, and London followed suit.

Canadian Jewry, for the most part, has not been receptive to the Reform Judaism movement. The Canadian people, French-speaking and English-speaking alike, are conservative, and are slow to change. They cling to tradition, and are reluctant to make any modifications in established custom and form. There is no doubt that the Jews of Canada have become imbued with this Canadian trait, and, because of their respect for traditional procedure, they have rejected any attempt to tamper with established Hebrew ritual in the synagogue, or in the home. Many American Jews who visit Canada are surprised to find that so many of their friends still keep a "kosher" table in their homes. Modern Canadian Jews, while they do not keep the Sabbath, nor many of the more rigid and difficult Jewish customs, insist on keeping their synagogues and their homes orthodox in form. The Temple Emanuel, which was built in 1882, is the only religious institution in Montreal in which Reform Judaism is practised. The mem-

bership of this congregation is made up largely of American Jews who have settled in Montreal. This indifference to the Reform Judaism movement is true of all Hebrew communities throughout Canada, and the number of Reform Temples in Canada is comparatively insignificant.

The pogroms which broke out in Russia in 1881, and which continued sporadically until after the Russian revolution, started an influx of Jewish immigration into the United States and Canada alike, which was to continue until drastic quota systems were adopted by both countries. During this period Jews came to the new world in ever-increasing numbers from all the countries of eastern Europe. Canada, a much larger country in area than the United States, is of necessity but sparsely settled, and in spite of the unrestricted immigration into the country before the World War, supports a total population at the present time of slightly under twelve million inhabitants. The Dominion could not possibly absorb any large groups of immigrants, and the number of Jewish refugees who found their way to Canada, therefore, was insignificant when compared to the large groups that entered the United States. The Jewish community in Canada remained very small until after the turn of the present century. The census of 1901 gives the Jewish population of the country as being 16,060. The latest available figures put the number of Jews in Canada at 152,000, which is approximately one per cent of the total population.

As in the United States, the "pack on the back" peddlers spread throughout the country selling their wares. Eventually they settled down in the towns and villages, and established small stores from which they conducted their business. Many of these small establishments grew to be the department stores in the towns which expanded rapidly. There is scarcely a community of any consequence in

Canada today, which does not have its Jewish store-keeper. One can travel from coast to coast, through all nine provinces of the Dominion, and find Jews in almost every town or village along the way.

The civil status of the Jews of Canada was settled by an Act of Parliament which became law in the year 1832. This act extends to Jews the same civil rights enjoyed by non-Jews, and since the enactment of this law, Jew and Christian have had equal status before the law. The need for such a law first came to the attention of the public when Ezekiel Hart, a son of Commissary Aaron Hart, was elected to the legislature in 1807, to represent the constituency of Three Rivers. When the legislature convened, Ezekiel Hart refused to be sworn in "on the true faith of a Christian." He took the oath of office on the Pentateuch, and, in accordance with Hebrew custom, he kept his head covered while the oath was being administered. His political opponents immediately raised a hue and cry, and created a major constitutional issue of this incident. They realized that this irregularity presented them with an opportunity to have the seat vacated, which would thereby reduce the voting strength of Hart's party in the legislature. The matter was debated at some length, and a vote was taken to decide whether or not Hart should be seated. The French-speaking majority were successful in having the seat vacated, and, in spite of the vehement opposition to this procedure on the part of the English-speaking minority, Ezekiel Hart was expelled from the House. He returned to Three Rivers and put the question directly to the voters of his constituency. They reaffirmed their confidence in him, and he was elected to office for the second time. Again he was refused admission to the House. The battle raged for two years, and to no avail. Ezekiel Hart was never able to fulfill the duties of the office to which he had been twice elected. Many

attempts were made during the succeeding twenty years to have the status of Canadian Jewry clearly defined, but it was not until 1832 that the matter was finally disposed of, and Jews were given full Canadian citizenship rights. Since then many Jews have been elected to the Canadian House of Parliament, as well as to the various Provincial Legislatures, and they have acquitted themselves well. Several of the Jewish law-makers have been outstanding statesmen, and they have gained national prominence for their devotion to the welfare of their country.

Anti-Semitism in Canada is, on the whole, no worse than it is in the United States. There is the same discrimination against the employment of Jews, particularly on the part of large corporations, and the same "Gentiles only" notices in the advertisements of summer resorts, clubs, restricted communities, and suburban sections. In the Province of Quebec, though, the brand of anti-semitism is more closely akin to the European type of Jew-hatred, in that it is very often inspired and takes the form of student demonstrations and window-breaking. This is due to the political control which anti-democratic leaders are able to exert over the French-Canadian people. As in Europe, such forces find it convenient to use anti-semitic demonstrations to register their opposition to certain acts of the government. An example of how this method of using anti-semitic outbreaks for political purposes works in actual practise can be seen in the student demonstrations against the Jews, which have been staged at various times during the past two years in Montreal and in other sections of the Province of Quebec. These outbursts, which are only too obviously inspired, are ostensibly directed against the Jews, but their real purpose is to coerce the government into giving up any intention which the authorities might have had of applying the full force

of the conscription measure, for which the Canadian people had voted in a nation-wide plebiscite which was held last April. Student paraders are marched through the Jewish quarter of Montreal, in which signs and placards are carried stating that "French Canada sees no reason for drafting its sons to fight overseas, while the Jews remain at home making money." The French-Canadian political leaders, and the clergy, might be considered as being hostile to the government if they were to incite their people to protest too vehemently against the conscription act, so they resort to these staged anti-semitic riots. By using this method of registering their displeasure, their actions become anti-semitic and not anti-government.

The truth of the matter is that the French-Canadian "Habitant" is not as unfriendly to the Jews as is the English-speaking Canadian, and if he were not subjected to these planned campaigns by his political leaders, and certain of the clergy, he would get along with Jews without too many conflicts. Because the French-speaking Canadians are a minority group, their antipathy to the Jews, and to other minority groups, is not as great as is their distrust of the English-speaking Protestant majority. Jewish business houses are always well patronized by French-Canadians, for they like to do business with the "Juif." The "Habitants" are still European enough to like the bargaining method of buying, and the Jewish store-keepers have always been very accommodating along these lines. Jews have shown a willingness to learn the French language, and this has helped greatly in their every-day contacts with the French-speaking people, for it is almost axiomatic that in every conversation held with a French-Canadian, the French tongue must be used at least part of the time. The quickest way to reach a "Habitant's" heart is to speak his language.

As a matter of record, the Jews of Canada have contributed greatly to the war effort, and many thousands of Jewish soldiers are seeing service with the Canadian armies throughout the world. Unfortunately, though, so many Jews have anglicized their names of recent years, that the Jewish participation in the military services is not as apparent as it might be. It is because of this that the anti-semites of the country are able to point to the low percentage of Jewish-sounding names which appear in army communiques, or in the casualty lists which are posted from time to time. And it is because of this, too, that the Jew-haters can continue to make the claim that the Jews are not volunteering for military service, but are remaining safely at home in secure "defense jobs." Some few Jews have been injudicious enough to continue to spend money lavishly, and to make too obvious a display of their wealth, and this, in turn, gives some apparent basis of fact to the charge that the Jews are making money out of the war effort. As in the United States, the Jewish organizations of Canada are constantly on the alert to make full use of every opportunity which presents itself, to acquaint the public with the true facts and figures which invariably prove these charges to be false.

When the history of the Canadian war effort is told, it will be found that the Jewish participation in the war, in the armed forces as well as at home, has been far greater than the ratio of Jews to the general population would seem to warrant. Jews are to be found in every branch of the armed services. They have participated in every battle in which the Canadian army or navy has been engaged. Canada's Jews figure prominently in the Battle of Britain, in the defense of Hong Kong, in the invasion of North Africa, and in the Dieppe raid. And Canada's Jews will continue to be in the thick of every battle which is still to be

fought before final victory is achieved, and the world is once again at peace.

As in the last war, many Jews will emerge from this struggle as Canadian heroes, many will come home with high military honors, and many will make the

supreme sacrifice in the battle to preserve the democratic way of life which Jew and Christian alike have enjoyed for so long in the Dominion of Canada. For the Jews of Canada are faithful Jews and loyal Canadians.

ATTILA

By CARL GRABO

Attila! Attila!

This is the end, the destined doom;
The gray day closes, wintry, still;
No sound nor movement in the gloom.
Attila, death was your will.

Beyond all sight the snowy plain
Is blackened with the wrecks of men;
Tho silenced now the scream of pain
Their agony will live again
Within your brain, O Attila!

Attila, the hall is bright,
And bright the mockery in their eyes;
Shut from your tortured soul the sight
Of those released to Paradise—
Long, long the road, O Attila!

For, Attila, unnumbered lives
Within eternity must lie
Which fate to expiation gives
Wherein to suffer and to die.
These will be yours, O Attila!

And all the heart-break you have wrought,
Each moment's pain, you too must know;
The high hopes to frustration brought
Because a false god willed it so.

He who as Deity would play
With human lives, the burden must
Like God assume. What other way
Is there for you? And it is just.
Is it not just, O Attila?

Opinions of Alfred Stahl

By STEPHEN J. MICHAEL

WHAT IS SURPRISING about my friend, Alfred Stahl, as I have said before, is not the unusualness, or even the fantastic nature of his opinions, but the fact that, no matter how strange or fantastic they are, others later, often much later, give expression to them, and in all seriousness.

I was reminded of this with particular force the day the Nazis "celebrated" the tenth anniversary of their rise to power.

On that day Goering in his delayed speech declared:

We had just seen how a war had gone in the East. A small incredibly courageous nation had withstood the Russians. Thus, what kind of danger could threaten the Reich from the East?

It was very hard, and needed the entire hardness of the last Winter, to see that the first war against Finland was possibly the most clever and greatest camouflage ever seen in world history. While the Russians let some armies fight in Finland, partly with superannuated arms, they had built up for a decade and a half the most gigantic armament ever produced by a nation.

If this is true—if the first Russian campaign in Finland was a gigantic camouflage, and if the Germans failed to grasp that fact, then they might have done well to engage Alfred Stahl as one of their advisers. For that was precisely his view of the matter from the beginning.

I well remember the laughter with which Stahl's views were greeted at the time, and the contempt in which he held those who laughed.

"Stupid fools!" he exclaimed. "What do they think would happen if Russia

showed her hand and demonstrated her real power at this time? Sweden would march . . . Norway would march . . . Japan would march . . . The whole world would turn upon Russia. And that does not exclude France and England, and even the United States."

That was the period, it should be remembered, of the famous *sitz-krieg*. Poland had been overwhelmed by the Nazis. But Norway had not yet been occupied, nor the Lowlands. Nor had France fallen. It was the period to which Senator Borah had referred as the "phoney war."

"Russia is right now," Stahl went on, "confronted with her most dangerous decision. A mistake, either of action or inaction, will prove her ruin. I think, as I told you before, that she made a terrible mistake in signing the Berlin-Moscow pact. That she did this in exasperation with the way she was treated at Munich is of course true. But it was a blunder, nevertheless. And now she is facing the consequences of that blunder. In extricating herself from this situation, she had to declare war on Finland, and now she must appear to be weak and militarily ineffective. For her to march through Finland with the ease that Germany marched through Poland would bring chaos and catastrophe down upon her."

"But why," I said, "why must Russia make war on Finland, especially if, as you say, she must bungle the war?"

"In order to prove to the world, and especially to the Nazis, that she is no serious threat to any one," was Stahl's reply.

"Look at the situation that confronts

Russia," he went on. "The world is in arms and arming faster every minute. Even we, though we are not at war, are arming as rapidly as possible. And Russia, thanks to the Berlin-Moscow Pact, is probably more unpopular at this moment than she has ever been.

"Why do you suppose Hitler was created in the first place, if not to crush Russia? But the Russians thought they had turned the tables on their enemies by freeing Hitler's hands to make war on them. In a way, they succeeded. France and England are at war with Germany, but do you think Chamberlain and Daladier will do anything to prevent Hitler from making war on Russia? Even now? . . . Of course not.

"But Germany," he continued, "is also in a bad way. She had hoped that, as a result of the Berlin-Moscow Pact, she would be handed Poland on a platter, as she was handed Czechoslovakia at Munich. But something went wrong with her plans. She had to make war on Poland, and now she finds herself at "war" with France and England. What can this mean? Have the New-Feudalists decided that Hitler has served his purpose? Have they decided to take over?

"So it seems. But Hitler and his advisers are not licked yet by any means. They have a great decision to make—to convert the *sitz-krieg* into an all-out *blitz* against France and England, or to turn their arms against Russia.

"If they decide upon the latter course, they will not be stopped, you may be sure, by either the French or the English. Yet if they do this, what will it avail them? Even if they should win, their armies will be exhausted in the effort. And meanwhile the military might of the French and English—and of the United States—will be growing.

"On the other hand, if they decide to hurl their might against France, and should they succeed, they will still be

confronted by the giant Bear whose military strength is an unknown quantity.

"Who knows how strong Russia really is? I think she can take Germany into camp without aid from anyone. But that is only a guess. No one knows. . . . Well, the Russians have set out to show Hitler that he has nothing to fear from the East.

"And if they succeed in pulling off this colossal fake, then the Chamberlains and the Daladiers will be confronted with a grave problem: to resist Hitler's attack and exhaust their own—and Hitler's—military power while Russia keeps her powder dry, or to let Hitler take France temporarily, so that he may still be strong enough to turn upon Russia later."

This statement, made on the day we learned of Russia's attack on Finland, seemed so fantastic that in recording it in my notes I added that "sometimes Stahl seems so determined to spin his fantasies that he becomes downright childish."

When the Leland Stowe articles about Russia's impotence in war started coming through, Stahl read them with great avidity.

"Observe," he said to me, "that the Russians do nothing to counteract this impression."

And he was right. Many journalists commented on this fact. What had happened to the Russian propaganda machine?

"It is all so obvious," said Stahl, "that I'm sure it will not succeed. Certainly the Germans are not so stupid as to fall for it."

But they did. They turned to the west. They occupied Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium. They swept on into France.

Stahl's was the only voice I heard, actually or in print, that was not surprised at the rapid fall of France. . . . He had expected it.

"Could France have stopped Germany if it tried?" He repeated my question.

"Of course it could. The German power is not nearly so great as it appears to be. . . . Mark my word, the Nazis will never take England. Having conquered the whole of Europe, they will now be induced to turn on Russia. And that is where they will suffer certain defeat."

At no time during the German advance into Russia did Stahl share the gloom that was spread over the air-waves and in the press. At no time did he doubt the ability of the Russians to stop the Nazi hordes.

"If the Allies can give up France," he said, "the Russians can afford to give up even more—just so the Red Army remains intact and they do not exhaust their military power. Why should they? We should like them to, of course. But from the Russian point of view, they are conducting themselves brilliantly and courageously. It takes courage and will, and brilliant foresight, to give up vast stretches of territory and hold your powder dry until your supposed friends prove that they are really friends."

"What do you think would happen if the Russians had proved their strength on their own border? Would we make any serious effort to help her? Would we undertake to replace her tanks and planes and other equipment? Russia is fighting two wars—one on the field against the Nazis, and the other diplomatically against those elements in the rest of the world that didn't trust her before Munich and don't trust her now, against those elements that would like to see her beaten and exhausted after a long war while we remain powerful and strong."

"I hold no brief for the Russians," Stahl went on, "certainly not as against ourselves. But I can see their point of view. And from that point of view, they are conducting themselves exactly right. They have good reasons for not trusting us. During the Finnish war, didn't Her-

bert Hoover try at once to arouse us against Russia and in defense of Finland, as he never attempted to arouse us against Germany and in defense of Austria or Czechoslovakia or Poland? There are many Herbert Hoovers in this country and in England, not to speak of the Wheelers or Brookses or men like Martin Dies.

"But I think the period of distrust is almost over. We have been in this war together long enough—we, with Roosevelt at our head, and England, with Churchill at her head—to convince Stalin that we are no longer after Russian blood. I think that Churchill and Stalin and Roosevelt understand each other, even if the Roosevelt critics in this country—even the poor, benighted liberals—do not. I think Churchill and Stalin know what the President is thinking, and I think the President knows what Churchill and Stalin are thinking—about Africa, about Japan, and about the whole global picture."

"And," Stahl continued with one of his rare smiles, "I think the outlook for democracy is very good."

He had for so many years been the prophet of gloom, and so many of his gloomy predictions had come true, that merely to see him smile again was enough to fill me with a vast feeling of hope.

I told him so, and he was pleased. It put him in a very happy mood.

* * * *

"Now don't forget," he said to me almost gleefully as I left him that night, "don't forget what I told you when you visited me in the hospital."

"What was that?"

"Don't forget to keep your eye on Spain."

"Oh, that."

But his views on the Spanish situation are really too fantastic to record.

Democracy in Action

By PHILIP L. SEMAN

THE JEWISH PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE is the largest single Jewish social force in Chicago, primarily intended for the social and recreational life of children, young people, and adults. The Institute has indelibly etched itself into the lives of the Jewish men and women throughout its community. Its aim has always been to function as a People's Institute, offering opportunities to individuals and groups to develop along educational, cultural, and social, as well as spiritual lines.

It stands out among Jewish institutions of this character throughout the country as an example of an intellectual and social force which a large people's institute may draw to itself. The Institute is recognized as a community agency for the entire city of Chicago, and not merely as a social agency for its immediate neighborhood, though the largest part of those who make use of the Institute's facilities live within the neighborhood, known as the Lawndale District—virtually a city within a city. This district has a total population of approximately 250,000, of which over 150,000 are Jews. The Institute has at one time or another contacted at least 50,000 in the latter group.

The Jewish People's Institute, organized under the name of the Chicago Hebrew Institute, had its genesis in 1899. At that time a group of young men seeking a common meeting-place for the furtherance of their ideals and interests rented and equipped a cottage on the lower West Side of Chicago. At these humble quarters, lectures and entertainments were held and limited reading facilities were provided. The idea soon

found seed in the growing realization that the intellectual and vocational development of the Chicago Jewish community demanded a proper center of the character of a people's club. In 1902, a lecture entitled, "The Future of the Russian Jew in America," was delivered by Dr. Kate Levy. In this address she emphasized the importance to the immigrant Jew of organizations in which to assert himself for his own betterment, and pictured the possibilities that might be afforded through a center for this purpose. This ideal of self-assertion and cooperation could be set to work, fostered, and developed until it would be accepted by the whole Jewish community of this city. It was because of Dr. Levy's talk that a number of months later, in September 1903, a group of young men gathered for the purpose of discussing this problem further, and there and then subscribed the funds which became the nucleus for the subsequent organization of the Institute.

The objective of the Institute in general, as indicated in its constitution, is as follows: To provide a community social center for the native American as well as the immigrant. It aims to promote physical welfare and arouse civic interest; to encourage education through its schools and through its cultural programs; and to give freely moral and spiritual rather than material aid. It strives for the elimination of class distinction and to prevent rather than to cure societal ills.

The Institute looks upon its activity on the whole as a citizenship clinic. In discussing this problem, one must bear in mind that fact that citizenship must be conceived in the broadest possible sense,

in the constructive sense that Dr. L. P. Jacks of Manchester, England, so potently presents in his splendid book, "Constructive Citizenship;" not as a mechanical process, not as a perfunctory function, but as Plato defined it, as a mode of life in the sense of developing the well-rounded person. If the reader will remember this definition, then the question of the use of the Institute's program in the development of citizenship becomes a purposeful and wholly worthwhile objective, the type of objective that we should like to see introduced in our school system, in the after-school agency which seeks to build character, such as the settlements, the YMCA, community centers, playgrounds, and so on.

Specifically, however, the Institute conducted a citizenship clinic, which was established very largely because of the Institute's consciousness that since the World War the alien in America has undergone a basic psychological change in his attitude toward this country. When the Institute gave up its clinic—since the National Council of Jewish Women and the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society were offering like services—it still maintained its group for the study of civics and citizenship, which has as its objective teaching the alien to know his community, its formal and informal agencies, for the promotion of culture, health, and welfare. This is citizenship and civics synthesized.

While the Institute has been conceived by the Jewish group, and has ever since its inception been financed by members of the Jewish community, (the Institute is an affiliate of the Jewish Charities of Chicago, which covers the Institute's deficit) its doors are nevertheless open to anyone who wishes to use its facilities and program, without regard to national background. The Institute is frankly Jewish and staunchly American. It is fully democratic in administration, and does not bear the slightest ear-marks of a

super-imposed effort "to do good" by one group upon another in the usually accepted charitable sense; it is in point of fact comparable to institutions like the University, the Symphony Orchestra, the Opera, the Art Institute, and other purely cultural and educational enterprises, enterprises that at least until the present have worked under considerable deficits, made up by voluntary offerings from those in the community who know the value of the service rendered in the interest of the development of culture and education.

To achieve these results, the Institute endeavors to develop in the adult a taste for science, for literature, and the arts, and above all, to stimulate in him a desire for association with the best and the noblest in the human personality. This is in a measure the purpose of the Institute's program of adult education and the basic justification for its existence.

The Institute feels that its educational effort should not duplicate the college curriculum, but that its means ought of right to serve those adult men and women who spend their days in industry and office, and who feel an imperative need to devote their leisure time to serious intellectual study. The Institute makes no less an appeal to men and women who have been students of schools of higher learning. As a matter of fact, such persons feel even more emphatically than others the necessity for sustaining their cultural backgrounds, for widening their horizons; they loathe the prospect of growing stale in their sense of human values. The course included in the program are in many instances calculated to appeal to just such persons. There are many subjects which the university student may know nothing about, or has not had the opportunity of taking while at college, but which he feels today represents a definite need.

The Institute is an agency which has successfully given opportunity for self-

expression, for the development of the social needs of a large part of the Jewish community free of the stigma of patronage. The very fact that a charge is made for every activity, no matter how small or how young the child may be, serves to demonstrate the self-support principle encouraged here. In other words, the Institute is a democratic institution.

The Institute furnishes a broad platform for the various elements of the community and makes them feel that they possess a desirable place in which they can give expression to their varied aspirations and ideals in the language they know best. This need not in any sense detract from the Americanization process for which the Institute stands. The best educators now think of Americanization as an appreciation of the cultures that foreign people bring to this country, as well as the promotion of a knowledge of what America stands for among foreign-speaking people.

Another group finds its outlet in the well-appointed, spacious gymnasium. Here the young man and young woman, of Jewish parentage largely, have the fullest possible opportunity for physical development. Here they receive their instruction in gymnastic drills; they play basketball and indoor baseball games; they learn how to swim; they get corrective exercises; in a word, they receive a full physical education to attain the highest possible health development. In these troublous days, physical fitness is especially stressed.

The art program of the Institute attempts to exploit the individuality of the student by encouraging him to believe in the artistic value of his own work, to feel that the vital thing in art is to contribute a new point-of-view, not to be just an imitator. In the talks to the students emphasis is laid on the intention of the pose, the movement, the rhythm, and their aesthetic qualities. I think a word here about the relation of the Jew in general to art, might be interesting. Espe-

cially in the domain of plastic art the Jew until lately has been denied his creative genius. With the change in the spiritual orientation of the artist during the last century, the Jewish artist, too, came into his own. It really involves the difference between the non-Jew's attitude and the Jew's toward the material work which can be expressed as follows: The non-Jew wants the "thing;" the Jew only its service. Things to the Jew are manifestations of a surging restless creative impulse.

For the non-Jew, therefore, the form of a thing, be it a tree, an animal, a person, or a nation, is something absolutely real, mystically personal, often a god; to the Jew reality is but the power, the force behind the moving world. Form, to the Jew, is the way a thing acts, and he is concerned with it only when he discovers in it a functional significance. Jewish plastic art, therefore, tends to be not the reproduction of a thing or a person immobilized, but in action.

As another means of developing an interest in things Jewish, a Museum of Jewish Antiquities, Ceremonial Objects, and Rare Manuscripts was added to the Institute's program some years ago. There were thousands of such objects in the old Jewish cities of Poland, Galicia, Italy, etc. Many of the young people with whom the Institute comes in contact, especially those who were born in America, would—without this material exhibit—know very little of such things as the Torah (The Holy Scroll), Ner Tomid (Perpetual Lamp), the Ten Commandments (tablets of the law), Kesser Torah (Crown on the Scrolls), the Yad (pointer), the Kiddush Cup (cup containing the wine with which the Sabbath is sanctified), the Habdallah Goblet, used to bid farewell to the Sabbath, Arbah Kanfos, (the four-cornered garment with ritual fringes), Tefilin (phylacteries), the Talith, or the Prayer Shawl, the Shofar (ram's horn).

Returning to the other activities of the

Institute—the Institute Players, a part of the Institute's dramatic program, is probably the oldest little theater in Chicago if not in the United States, for it has functioned uninterruptedly for thirty-three years. In connection with The Players, there is a Theater Workshop, which is the training ground for participation in The Players, offering courses in body work and acting technique. The dramatic department also conducts activities for children, and over a period of years has developed splendid talent from among these youngsters.

The Institute was a pioneer in conducting popular classical concerts. Over thirty years ago, it began symphonic concerts, using the best men from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra; for years it continued this service to the people at the very nominal admission cost of ten cents. When the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, after years of Institute experience, launched a program of popular concerts, the Institute ceased to function in this respect, and merely acted as an agency for the Orchestra in assisting in the sale of tickets for its concerts. For many years now, it has been conducting its own free musicales, at which talented persons in the community perform. Through the thoughtfulness of one of the officers of the Institute, the Institute was a beneficiary of a splendid gift, a Capehart machine, which now makes it possible to present regular recorded programs of symphonic and classical music.

A major portion of the work of the Institute is concerned with clubs. Briefly, the club, in the thinking of the Institute's Group Work Activities Department, is a voluntary group bound together by personal and social ties, in which the membership is determined by the group itself. Such groups usually listed their purposes in four general activity areas—social, educational, athletic, and service. However, in these days, their thinking and activities are primarily directed toward

aiding the war effort. At the present time, most of our men, 18 years of age and up, are either in the armed forces or in war industry.

Over and above the variety of informal activities represented up to now, the Institute maintains a number of schools which offer specialized training in specific fields. These are the Elementary School for immigrant adults, the Dance Studio, the Music School, and the Art Studio, as well as a full-day Nursery School.

Unique in the practices of informal adult education is the introduction of the self-study seminar in the Institute's program. In each of the seminar groups a limited number of people have been drawn together, people from all walks of life and of widely different ages, joined by a common desire to explore new areas of thought and experience. There are no teachers in the seminar; there are group leaders selected from among the topmost ranks in their respective fields; there are no students, there are collaborators; there is no classroom, there is a workshop, a laboratory for ideas—an informal place where friends may meet and exchange views.

Among the youngest and yet among the most dynamic of all institute organizations is the Institute Woman's Council. Organized officially in November, 1939, it began as a club for women of the Greater Lawn-dale District. In its program it set about to provide a more livable and intelligent community by sponsoring opportunities in education, cultural activities, civic improvement, and recreation. Non-political, non-commercial, and non-fund-raising in character, with 50c for annual registration its only fee, it closed its third season with over 300 members.

The Institute's contribution to the refugee's adjustment in America holds a vital place in the long chain of his initial experience in American life. After contacting the social service agencies which meet his specific needs, the Institute offers

the new immigrant opportunities to specialize within other groups, aids him to learn a new language, and encourages him at every turn to make a contribution to the culture of his adopted country. Free classes in English instruction, aid in citizenship and naturalization problems, free membership in the gymnasium, lecture courses, forums, concerts, movies and theatrical performances of the Institute represent specific advantages offered the recent immigrant.

Much concern over the distribution of recreational groups to the defense of American democracy prompted the American Association for the Study of Group Work to set up a committee on an emergency program last summer. This group recently issued, "Group Leadership in the Present Emergency," summarizing the results of the committee's deliberations. It is not surprising that in the conclusion it states that the group's defense function is largely in the area of morale. The channels are the groups served. In discussing a leader's responsibility to the group, the report emphasizes the necessity of training the group to an appreciation of democracy. Other responsibilities include the conservation of freedom of speech through emphasis on the "necessity of responsible utterance," the conservation of perspective under emotional stress, and help in adjustment to new disciplines.

For twenty-two years the Institute has been conducting Camp Chi, a girl's camp, where 560 girls spend two weeks during the summer over a ten week camp period, consisting of five two-week terms. The camp is located at Loon Lake, Antioch, Illinois.

About twelve years ago, the Institute established the first Day Camp. This camp conducts its activities on the roof garden of the Institute's building for children who are too young to go to the regular camps, and for those for whom there is no camping provision otherwise. In this

manner, some 350 youngsters between the ages of 7 and 14 are offered a full home-camp program daily from nine until four for ten weeks of the summer vacation period.

In the light of the chaotic world situation, especially as it affects us at present and as it will influence our future, we in America who are jealous of our democratic form of government must teach ourselves the true democratic procedure. We must, in other words, learn to live and to practice democracy. Throughout the Institute program this emphasis and experience is made actual.

We must put forth all energy, no matter at what sacrifice, to prepare ourselves so that we may defend the cherished liberties that the forefathers of our country have bequeathed us as our heritage, and which we have maintained for the past 150 years. We appreciate only too well the fact that the things we as individuals have enjoyed and that may not be essential in these days, must be given up, or at least suspended for the duration. There are, however, a number of very important services which under no circumstances should be curtailed. These should on the contrary be expanded. These are activities in recreation, education, and cultural enterprises. These activities are needed now more than ever before. In times like these, life must be kept as normal as possible, especially for the child and the youth of our land. Morale for all of us is fundamental. The processes of building morale must occupy a vital role in our war program.

The Jewish People's Institute takes a very active part in the war program, particularly in its services to the Jewish boy in the armed forces. Mr. Charles Aaron, President of the Jewish People's Institute, and Mrs. Arthur M. Oppenheimer, President of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Jewish People's Institute, represent the Institute on the Board of Governors of the Jewish Welfare Board, and Mr. Aaron,

Mrs. Walter E. Heller—former president of the Woman's Auxiliary to the Jewish People's Institute, and a member of the Institute Board—and the General Director of the Institute, serve on the Executive Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board. The Board is the official agency designated by the government with which it negotiates in regard to matters pertaining to the Jewish serviceman. Mr. Aaron is chairman; Mrs. Heller, vice-chairman; and the General Director of the Institute, treasurer of the Sixth Corps Area of the USO-JWB organization.

It must be definitely known that while the Institute feels very strongly that nothing must interfere with aiding in every way the program of the Office of Civilian Defense and in aiding the war effort in any and all directions wherein either our facilities or our personnel is able to serve, the Institute program does not lessen in its normal activities. We are conscious of the fact that there are still in our community literally thousands of people who are either not directly affected by the war or who are greatly in need of normal recreational and even cultural activities as a morale stabilizer. While not directly engaged in planning, we are nevertheless constantly aware of the important obligation that rests upon us to think of the Institute's program which shall follow the war; a program that shall serve our people in the uncertain days of our post-war world. The Institute recognized from the very beginning that this task involved not only the maintenance and the intensification of many activities in our normal program, but the re-direction of others and the initiation of still others to meet new and immediate needs.

A recreational agency, like the Institute, must maintain the process along with the product, and yet retain the underlying philosophy of good, sound, recreational program, namely, the worth of the individual, the growth and enrichment of his

personality, and the promotion of democratic inter-change between individuals and groups. These new responsibilities of recreation require a new leadership which recognizes the necessity for the broadest possible development of recreation.

POSTPONEMENT OF WRITERS CONTEST

We regret the necessity of postponing the closing date of **THE CHICAGO JEWISH FORUM** Writers Contest from January 28, 1943 to July 20, 1943.

We have been made to understand by many writers who have just learned of our contest, and of our existence, that so early a closing date for a contest award in a new and unpublicized magazine was unfair both to our readers, who are entitled to read the best material that can be obtained through such a contest, and to many prospective contestants, who had no way of learning of it.

Therefore, inasmuch as our circulation has more than tripled since our contest was first announced, and interest in it has been gathering momentum at an increasing rate, we feel justified in announcing the postponement of our closing date to July 20, 1943.

This will enable us to publish the winning articles or stories in the Fall number following.

* * * *

Some of the early entries are excellent and it is not unlikely that the winners will be among them. However, all contestants will be given an equal chance, and none of the sealed envelopes referred to in the Rules found on the inside cover of this issue will be opened until all the manuscripts are read and judged after the new closing date—July 20, 1943.

A New Learning

By FRANZ ROSENZWEIG

(Translated with an Introduction by WERNER J. CAHNMAN)

I

"I shall open my mouth only after my death."

Franz Rosenzweig

WHEN, AFTER 1933, the Jewish Community in Germany seemed to be hopelessly at the mercy of Hitler's gang, the *Lehrhaus* movement formed the backbone of moral resistance. Many a local Jewish community founded a *Lehrhaus* as a central institution of adult studies, using men of general as well as of Jewish learning as teachers and discussion leaders, for whom there was a growing demand. Boys and girls from the rapidly expanding free associations of Jewish youth, many of them preparing themselves for a pioneering life in Palestine, were foremost among the pupils and listeners in evening classes and forums, but along with them quite a few adults found their way to a new type of Jewish learning. These scattered efforts were centralized in 1934, when the foremost Jewish philosopher of our time, Martin Buber, was put in charge of the Central Office for Adult Jewish Studies, the *Mittelstelle fuer Juedische Erwachsenenbildung*, as it was then called. It was at Buber's suggestion that the *Almanach des Schocken Verlags auf das Jahr 5695*, in the fall of 1934, published for the first time Franz Rosenzweig's speech on "A New Learning" as the programmatic speech of a Jewish rebirth movement.

Who was Franz Rosenzweig? What did he mean to Martin Buber and what can he possibly mean to us? When Franz Rosenzweig died at the age of 41 in 1929, he had already become a symbol to his friends and disciples. His last years had

been the life of a martyr. A creeping, paralyzing sickness had in its finishing stages deprived him even of the power of speech and it was only the strength of his will and the uncanny imagination of his wife that rescued his unheard words for posterity. Yet, he was a symbol in a much wider sense. He had been born into a highly placed and thoroughly assimilated German-Jewish family, but he had ended his life as a consciously "observing" Jew. In his family, as in many other families of that time, formal allegiance to Judaism was taken for granted, but deprived of every meaningful content so that the young Rosenzweig, in his University years, had been about to embrace Christianity, disgusted as he was at the lack of seriousness which he encountered everywhere within the all-too-complacent Jewish bourgeoisie in Imperial Germany. Better, he would argue, to be a fervent believer, sharing in the imitation of Christ, then to repeat the stale generalities which by then had replaced the living faith of his ancestors.

From this position on the very edge of a dangerously exposed Jewishness, he found a new way home to Jewish life and learning. He became a favorite pupil of Hermann Cohen at the time when the aged protagonist of Neo-Kantianism had left the anti-Semitic University of Marburg to dedicate the rest of his days to the thorny field of Jewish scholarship. The first World War found Private Rosenzweig in the muddy trenches on the Macedonian front, writing in a feverish fit of creativeness his major philosophical work, which he intended to be a fundamental interpretation of the eternal truth

in Judaism and Jewishness. He called his book *The Star of Redemption*.

Upon his return from the battlefield he was eager to communicate to his fellow Jews the inner experience which he had gained; he believed that it was now his duty to translate into action what he had found in contemplation. Following the example of a long chain of Jewish scholars from ages past up to this day, the philosopher Rosenzweig left his secluded study and strove to become adviser and guide among the perplexed of his people. Together with a number of friends, among whom Martin Buber soon emerged as chief, he founded the first *Freies Juedisches Lehrhaus* in Frankfurt am Main in 1920. The opening speech on "A New Learning" was given on October 17 of that year before an audience which was intentionally representative of the whole community of Frankfurt: the wandering scholar from the East met with well-established native intellectuals and the boy from the *Jugendbewegung* sat next to the respectable *Herr Geheimrat*. There was the beauty of a spiritual *Chaluziut* about this gathering.

The principles of the *Lehrhaus* movement which Franz Rosenzweig had laid down on sketchy notes found after his premature death, amount, if properly understood, to nothing less than a revolution in Jewish learning. Their point of departure is that the homeliness of the *Yiddish Gass* has irrevocably gone: the resting-place of the Jewish mind and the symbol of a wider and deeper universal rest yet to come, the Shabbos, has been lost. Moreover, Jewish law and custom which once, as the old saying has it, had been erected as a fence to prevent the Jew from leaving the fold, are now a wall which, if rigidly maintained, would bar re-entrance. The modern Jew, Franz Rosenzweig concludes from his own experience, finds himself in the full possession of the culture of his time but estranged from his own timeless heritage.

The sort of Jewish education which the scholarly experts of Judaism offer him does not make him embrace this heritage as part of his own life but leads him either into a remote past to which he feels he has no legitimate access, or else dilutes traditional values to such an extent that they resemble everything and nothing.

The modern Jew, as a Jew, lives on the periphery. When, therefore, in the midst of an expanding and, in the process of expansion, ominously cracking civilization, a longing awakens within him for a deeper discovery of his own mind and heart, he needs the guidance of those who have shared the experience of estrangement with him. Franz Rosenzweig, it is true, venerated his saintly friend, the conservative Rabbi of Frankfurt, but he insisted none the less on his conviction that nobody was fit to be a teacher in a Jewish House of Learning in this, our time of estrangement, unless he was a re-turner a *baalteshuva* himself; unless, indeed, he himself had once gone astray in the alluringly wide field of his own particular art or science, so that he could have felt with all his might and with all his heart the longing of the prodigal son to return home. He would, to be sure, not return empty. He would carry with him the goods which he had gathered as a citizen of the world, he would renounce nothing of what he had gained by his participation in a larger society but would lead it back to Jewishness. He would re-discover, not merely protect and defend, the life of a Jew. This is the way, as Franz Rosenzweig puts it, "from the periphery to the core" for which the modern Jew is reaching in the uproar and bewilderment and despair of a chaotic world.

This, then, is precisely what Franz Rosenzweig's programmatic speech can mean also to us. Moreover, this is what Martin Buber wanted to say through the words of his deceased friend in 1934 when the shades of night were gathering about

the Jews of Germany. This is why Buber quoted a man who had started out as an Hegelian philosopher and complete *Am-ha-arez*, but had transformed himself, through loving efforts, into a Biblical scholar and confessed believer. This is why Buber conjured up the memory of a teacher who had made it a point to belong to none of the many parties in Jewish life, be it Orthodoxy or Reform, Zionism or Anti-Zionism, because he believed in the eternal truth of Judaism beyond the sectional strife of parties and creeds and wanted to be a servant to his people as a whole. Beyond the grave, the Zionist Martin Buber, once again joined hands with his non-Zionist friend, who, not from party-narrowness but out of his feeling for the whole, had declared that among the Zionists, "whatever their theory may be," he had found the better Jews. To Buber, as to Rosenzweig, Jewishness was not to be measured in declarations and programs but only in the intense desire of devotion.

Through its publication in the *Schocken Almanach* of 1934, Rosenzweig's stirring speech of 1920 has become one of the closing documents in the history of the Jews of Germany, but I venture to say that it will still sound timely to American ears. To be sure, shallowness and complacency and the empty hunt after "the bitch-goddess of success" are still preponderant in American Jewish life, and a high sounding meaninglessness is all-too-often pronounced from our pulpits and in our meeting-places. But the tale of martyrdom from beyond the seas does its silent work. There is a steadily growing though still unformulated feeling among Jewish youth in this country that they should return to the roots of their existence in order to strengthen themselves for the days to come. Whoever feels as they feel, tunes in and listens to the voice of Franz Rosenzweig.

II

Translation of

FRANZ ROSENZWEIG'S ADDRESS

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The "Free Jewish House of Learning" opens its doors to-day, continuing Jewish adult education classes which have been held during the last winter and summer. On this occasion, it does not seem proper for me to compete with the revered gentleman who opened our lecture series here last winter with a solemn and magnificent speech: I will not dwell as he has done, upon a particular topic within the wide field of Jewish scholarly endeavor. I am sure you don't expect a performance such as this from a man who is still young and quite unknown. I shall merely attempt to give a simple account of the task upon which we have set ourselves and our aims as we see them.

Learning—there are few among you, I suppose, who are no longer sensitive to the peculiar connotation of this term to Jewish ears even to-day. A book—the book which we not vainly use in its age-old external shape (the only book of antiquity, by the way, which is still alive in its usage as a scroll)—a book has kept us alive. To learn in this book has become a folk-enterprise. It has exercised an aristocratizing and a democratizing influence at the same time: *Jichus*, indicating the status of a family, has been modified by a widespread knowledge of the Torah. This book covers the vast territory of Jewish life entirely. There were "foreign books" besides, to be sure, but to learn in them was considered the first step toward heresy. It is true that in several instances an influence from without, such as Aristotle, has become assimilated into Judaism, but in the last few centuries the power to do so seems to have been waning. Finally, emancipation has overtaken us.

With one stroke, emancipation widened enormously the range of vision and soon

after also the scope of activity. Learning could not keep pace with such a speedy expansion. However, it is not so much the break-down of external barriers that marked a new development. It should be noted that even the Ghetto had harbored rather than secluded the life of the Jew and that he was moving outside as well as inside the Ghetto walls; but the resting place of his mind, his spiritual home, was only to be found within. It meant therefore no new development that his feet now carried the Jew farther than they had done previously; for the Jew, as we know, had been a comparatively mobile force within medieval society, by no means tied to the soil. The medieval Ghetto (and in terms of social history even the first few centuries of our modern age belong actually to the Middle ages) does not stand for an exceptional Jewish case, but for a general case, as may be observed in Oriental countries even today. This, then, is the new development: that the wanderer does not return to his paternal hearth in the evening, and that the Ghetto doors are no more closed behind him while he takes his rest at night; his restful night is being merged with his active day. In other words, he finds now his spiritual, in addition to his physical, home outside the Jewish fold.

Old-fashioned learning, then, breaks down in the face of such an emigration of minds. We can express it to-day in statistical terms that Orthodoxy as well as Reform have been striving in vain to fill in the territorial expanse between these widened frontiers. Much as the "Law" might have been puffed up, what it could do at most was to regulate and to control attitudes, but it had lost its power of assimilation in a cultural sphere. Those who entered the room were still greeted by a *mesusa* at the doorpost, but the bookcase contained, at most, only a Jewish corner. The reform-movement, on the other hand, not endeavoring to master life with the hand-to-hand weapons of the

law, tried its luck with the light-winged squadrons of ideas, but it fared no better. There was no other way than to dilute as much as possible what was supposed to be the spirit of Judaism in order not even to fill in the total expanse of spiritual life, but simply to mark out its frontiers. One was only too easily inclined to play with all these big words which old Judaism surely had known but uttered only with wise restraint because it was felt that they would wear out with overabundant use; one was easily inclined to play with these big words—such as humanity, brotherhood, idealism and so forth—because the whole circle of the universe was believed to be encompassed by them. But the universe resists a surface-procedure such as this and calls for individual treatment instead.

One is far from assimilating a spiritual phenomenon to Judaism by simply relating it to a Jewish term in a rather "sloganous" way. For instance, one cannot judaize the problems of democracy by merely pointing to the word of the Torah: "You shall have one ordinance both for the stranger and for him that was born in the land," just as one cannot judaize the problem of socialism by pointing to certain social institutions and programs in ancient Israel. If we were to permit such a delusion, all the worse for us. The great creative minds in our midst have never let themselves be confined by our delusions. Shall we be sorry for it? No, for it was all to the good. They have left us. They have gone everywhere. They have found a resting place for their own minds and they have founded a spiritual home for others. The Book, however, that had once marked the focal point around which we all met, stands now lonely in the midst of a changed world and even to those of us to whom it is still a beloved duty to return to its pages at regular intervals, this return is only a turning back, a turning away from life. Their own world remains un-

Jewish even if they still participate in a Jewish world. The old way to keep life in conformity with the Book, learning, breaks down.

Does it really break down? No, only the old mould is cast away. We would not be, in spite of our odd and shabby appearance, the sign and miracle among the peoples, the people of eternity, if the remedy were not to grow out of the very sickness. It is now as it always has been. What seemed to have dealt the death blow to our learning, the exodus of those who once had "learned" to the *sfarim chizonim*, to the realm of a foreign science, the transformation of those who had been *Talmide chachamin* into the scholars and scientists of our modern universities—all this gives us a new strength and a new claim. A new learning comes into being or rather has already come into being. It is a learning in a reversed direction, a learning no more from the Torah into life, but from life, from a world that does not know or pretends not to know any more about the "Law," back to the Torah. This is the mark of our time.

It is the mark of our time because it is the mark of man in our time. No one lives to-day who has not become estranged from his origin or who has not at least an element of estrangement within him. I am certain that I do not speak merely for myself if I say that those of us to whom Judaism and Jewishness have again become the focal facts of our lives, know that we must be prepared to make every sacrifice for them; but we also know that this is not the task that lies before us. In other words, we shall surrender nothing, renounce nothing of what we have gained in terms of a wider cultural outlook, but lead it all back to Jewishness. We move from the periphery to the core, from "without" to "within."

This indeed is a new learning. It is a learning for which those are most capable who carry with them the greatest amount

of foreign goods. These, then, are explicitly not the experts of Jewishness, or at least not in their capacity as experts, but as children of estrangement who want to return home and who surely will return in the end.

It is not up to us to show relationships between a Jewish and a non-Jewish set of values—this has been done long enough. No apologetics is needed. We have to find a home in the heart of our own lives and be confident that this heart will turn out to be a Jewish heart—for we are Jews.

That sounds simple and it is so. It should suffice to gather together people of every origin, teachers as well as pupils. Just look at our program! You will find there as lecturers a chemist, a physician, an historian, an artist, a politician. Obviously, two thirds of the teachers are of such a kind that they would have been denied the privilege of teaching in a Jewish house of learning twenty or thirty years ago—in the only period when Jewish learning had become a matter of experts. They have come together here not as experts, but as Jews. They have come together for the sake of "learning," for teaching is supposed to go along with learning. I believe that I am entitled to speak in the name of all those who teach here if I say that to teach at this house of learning means that nothing of what one has gained by participating in a larger society will be surrendered in the process of our new learning. We all are gatherers and to be a gatherer means to take the people that are to be gathered wherever they be found and in whichever shape they be found. The same principle applies to those who do the gathering. If we were to proceed otherwise, we should continue the mistakes of a century and perpetuate its failure: we should, at most, illuminate life with a few "pearls of thought" from the Talmud or elsewhere and otherwise leave it as un-Jewish as we have found it. But we don't do that: we take life as we find it, our own

life and the life of those who listen to us and we carry this very life from the periphery where we have found it, step by step (and sometimes even suddenly) to the core. We are confident, though we have no proof, that this core means Jewishness.

There is no proof for our confidence. Silent confidence, however, carries farther than all our words can do; it carries us far beyond the duties of the day. Remember that we originate from the periphery and that we do not have a clear, distinct, and speakable consciousness of unity in the core. Such was the good life of our forefathers which we have lost. We are mere seekers after unity, yet we are confident that we shall ultimately find it. If seen from the periphery the core seems to be no unit or in other words, the center shows rather different aspects at different points on the circle. Many roads, it is true, lead from without to within. But the "within" remains nonetheless a unity and each lecturer, in the last analysis, should therefore talk about the same thing. If they only talk frankly, all of them will really have talked about the same thing in the end and only the beginning, the starting point, will have been a different one for each of them.

It is in this sense and in this sense only that you are to understand correctly the divisions and differences within our program. Differences are there only to be reconciled. Perhaps we are to-day confronted with an all too loose co-ordination of classical, historic, and modern features in Judaism, but this condition ought not and will not be continued. We shall come to see the roots of historic features in classical lore and its fruits in modern life. Everything genuinely Jewish has to combine all three of them. Such has been the case in all times fruitful in a Jewish sense. For instance, to consider differences between the Torah and the prophets, between Halakha and Haggada, between

world and man as real differences—we shall leave all this to outsiders. As for ourselves, however,—well, to whom of us would it not be clear that there would be no Torah without the prophetic forces that were operating in Moses who was the father of all prophets before him and after him and, on the other hand, that there could not have been any prophets without the basis of laws and ordinances out of which prophecy receives measure and rule? The same should be said about the difference between Halakha and Haggada—each page in the Talmud shows to the pupil how inextricably interwoven both of them are and each page of Jewish history shows mind and heart operating in both directions: scholarly exploration and mystical contemplation, legal decision and explanatory endeavor. And if it finally comes to a consideration of our contemporary Jewish world, who would believe that such a world was to be built without human beings and Jewish ones at that? Conversely, what shall become, in the long run, of the Jewish people if they don't find themselves in a Jewish atmosphere as it were, in a Jewish environment wherever they are—in short, in a Jewish world? I should like to note, in this connection, that even a homeland will not turn out to be a Jewish homeland simply because its boundary-posts have been painted blue-white.

Thus all this is interconnected and even more it is one, and as one it shall be offered you. This, however, does not mean that you could not get sufficient stimulation without taking on a "me-too" attitude and joining in everything which we have to offer you. What we mean to say is this: that you should attend every particular lecture or seminar in which you do participate in the sense of looking at it as part of a whole and, moreover, as a part which draws its very existence from the whole, and which is offered you only for the sake of the whole.

It is in this sense that I welcome you

here within these walls in the moment when we are entering into our new academic year. I wish that the hours which you spend here, may be transformed into hours of remembrance, not in the dull sense of a meaningless allegiance which has too frequently been associated with all sorts of Jewish activities

—but hours of another remembrance indicating a return to lost memories, a return from “without” to “within,” a return, believe me, which will take on the aspect of a coming-in and of a coming home. Please come in and please come home to your own life and to your own existence.



Refugees

SAMUEL GREENBERG

BOOKS

The Jewish Community, by Salo W. Baron. The Jewish Publication Society, 1942. 3 volumes. \$7.50.

The historian Simon Dubnow once complained of the lack of sociological perspective of earlier Jewish chroniclers who found in Jewish history nothing but "Torah" and "Yissurim", Jewish learning and suffering. Dubnow himself and some of his contemporaries have made impressive beginnings to correct this failure by interpreting social and economic forces which operated within and without Jewish society in the course of its long and checkered history. Salo Baron's *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, published in 1937, gave these attempts their first systematic and articulate expression. It is no exaggeration to say that the first three volumes of Dr. Baron ushered in a new era in Jewish historiography, having fully vindicated Dubnow's quest for the socio-historical rather than the chronico-theological in the study of Jewish history. *The Jewish Community*, by Salo Baron, is in a sense the fulfillment of the promise held out in his *Social and Religious History of the Jews*, for while in the first three volumes he offers the framework of Jewish history, the present books constitute the first complete edifice.

In his present work the author follows the same arrangement he used in his *Social and Religious History*, the first two volumes being devoted to the main presentation and the third to notes and bibliography. As the title indicates, the author is seeking to throw light on the most tangible but least understood reality in Jewish history since the days of dispersion—the Jewish Community. The study covers the Jewish Community from the days of the Babylonian exile to the French Revolution, but its main emphasis is upon the rise, development, achievement and failure of the Jewish Community in Europe during the Middle Ages. The reason for this concentration, as the author puts it, is "because of the great richness and variety of its historic ac-

complishments, and genetically because of its intimate linkage to Jewish Community life throughout the world today".

The subjects treated in the first two volumes range all the way from a study of "The Palestinian Municipality" to "Crucible of Capitalism and Enlightenment", including such topics as "local society", "education", "public finance", "social welfare" and other spiritual, political and economic institutions which moulded the character and affected the fortunes of the Jewish Community through the ages. Every subject under consideration is given comprehensive historical and sociological analysis based upon a vast accumulation of literature in Jewish religion, jurisprudence, folkways, philosophy, poetry, social and financial transactions.

The third volume is a veritable key to the rich storehouse of every branch of Jewish scholarship that has sought to discover the realities, understand the thought and appreciate the mood of Jewry in many lands, in different times. One is literally dazzled by the sheer amount of source material brought together in this volume, not to speak of the vast erudition the author displays in his presentation.

Even more significant than the rich knowledge is the author's depth of understanding and breadth of vision. Jewry never lacked men of Jewish learning. In recent years there have come to the fore a goodly number of social theorists and philosophers of Jewish history; in Dr. Baron the Jewish scholar is wedded to the man of social vision, and this combination is indeed a refreshing experience in Jewish historiography. As in the case of the *Social and Religious History*, Dr. Baron does not allow the wealth of documentary materials to overwhelm him or divert him from his charted path. With the skill of an artist Dr. Baron deftly selects his documents, sifts his evidence, and with the fine logic of a man of sound learning and clear understanding recon-

structs his data into living social and historic forces.

In the maelstrom of materials and documents, an obscure or apocryphal Midrash sometimes appears to rank in importance with an established tradition, and a Rabbinic Takanah or minutes of Parnassim are given consideration equal to time honored Jewish law. This is, perhaps, inevitable considering that the author is covering the span of centuries and is as much at home in ancient Palestine and Babylon as he is in medieval Germany and Spain or modern Poland or New York. It is this "at homeness" in these many worlds enabling Dr. Baron to pass with ease from one to the other, that seems to the writer to be prejudicial to the actual distances between these communities due to the differences of time and the variety of social and intellectual climates. But whatever slight errors might have crept in by virtue of this great sweep and "familiarity" with sources, they are more than overshadowed by the bold attempt at presenting the whole of the Jewish Community rather than some well rounded fragments. Such a study of the Jewish Community in its totality is particularly valuable at this stage of Jewish history when Jewish life is shaken to its very foundations and there is need for sounder knowledge and better understanding of the Jewish Community of yesterday—to help evolve the Jewish community of today and of tomorrow.

SAMUEL M. BLUMENFIELD

Passages of Refuge, by Selwyn S. Schwartz. James A. Decker, 62 pp. \$2.50.

There are some fine things in this volume—deftly handled satire, images of strength and power, lines of almost perfect beauty—and if among them you find flaws, put it down to the fact that Schwartz is an original voice, still struggling to find himself. The writing of metaphysical poetry offers many temptations to the slipshod artist and the poetaster: form is subordinated—even, in some masters of the genre, neglected—in favor of content; and the very nature of the technique often results in the confusion of obscurantism with profundity. Fortunately, Schwartz, for the most part, escapes these snares. And that is saying much.

That Schwartz has not yet found himself is obvious from the diversity of influences still undigested in his work. Whitman, Pound, Eliot, Cummings and Crane wrestle in these pages. But above and beyond them all is the personality of the poet himself, and it is a tribute to the range of his thematic material that he should find it desirable to experiment with the manner of so many.

Once in this volume Schwartz refers to his poetry as "quixotic carousing," but there is more here than mere exuberance. There is an intensity of emotion and a boldness of vision, yet withal lines of quiet tenderness and peace.

This poetry ranges from the agile satire and philosophical affirmation of "The Prose of Monday," to the boisterousness of "Chez Paree" and the tenderness of "Necrologue." It is full of images of strength and power:

*Lucidly the evening disc at the gate
twins
the night into mapped darkness, while
noon in anguish
like an old Jew, names my hour*

or

*What bulging gospel the persuasive
drum.*

Note the deft malice of:

*How wise against the parted world
the burial snugness of heaven.*

the fine observation in,

A sensuous sun cuddles the tracks.

Compare the tenderness of

*I write you tonight
because the blond moon tastes like
beer.*

and

*Console yourself because the Earth is
close.*

with the harsh power of

*I hear the cannon hungry mouthed
through ears of metal bones.*

And if, in the course of his poetic intensity, Schwartz tears the guts out of the language, neglects syntax ("The sound of my steps are like sleepless clocks"), favors a barbarous kind of terminology ("tinctorial," "sequestered," "eximious"), or even violates good taste, let us be grateful that the intensity is there, and is communicated.

The most damaging criticism of Schwartz could be made along these lines, as of his complete lack of ear. But such criticism would not present the whole truth. It would overlook such excellent work as "The Prose of Monday," "Blackout," "Summer, 1942," "Postscript to my Wife," "Necrologue," and "Exodus," not to say others.

And a neglect of these more technical values seems to go with metaphysical poetry. Did not Jonson say of Donne that "for not keeping of accent, he deserved hanging"? And did he not conclude, nevertheless, that Donne was "the first poet in the wrold for some things?"

LAWRENCE KLINGMAN

Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, by M. F. Ashley Montagu, with a foreword by Aldous Huxley. Columbia University Press, New York, 1942. 216 pp. \$2.25.

The persistent snobbery of the human race which leads nations and ethnic groups to regard themselves as superior to others speaking a different language or differently pigmented would seem no more than childish and amusing were it not for the tragic uses to which it is put. The human race, incidentally, is properly speaking the only "race" of which we may accurately speak. The white, black, brown, and yellow "races" are, to the anthropologist and biologist, "ethnic groups" only. It is believed that they derive from common ancestors and that the differences among them are, biologically, only superficial and are to be accounted for by adaptation to environment and by those mutations observable in other animal species and in plants. There is no "superior race" in nature. The likenesses among all groups and peoples are far greater than their differences. In mentality it is impossible to say that any ethnic group or people surpasses another.

The observable differences are due to different cultural traditions.

If this is true, and the leading anthropologists of our day are nearly unanimous in believing that it is, it would be better that we no longer spoke of the different "races" of mankind. Professor Montagu would banish the word from our vocabularies, hoping thereby to diminish those caste prejudices and those delusions of national superiority which are strengthened by its misuse. "White supremacy," the "master race"—such terms are born of ignorance, selfishness, and a false science. They are employed by demagogues and by economically powerful groups which desire to keep exploited groups subservient to them. Peoples and mankind as a whole are divided into many groups and castes but these have a social and not a biological origin. Says Professor Montagu: "Our present social ills are for the most part produced not by genetically inadequate individuals but by socially inadequate ones, and the remedy for those ills therefore lies first in the improvement of the social environments of our species." All peoples would be responsive to these improved environments, for "the concept of 'race,' which holds that the physical differences between peoples are reflections of underlying significant mental differences is a concept which cannot be scientifically substantiated. It is a myth and a delusion."

The misuse of the term "race" and the attribution of inferiority to exploited or enslaved peoples is a relatively modern defense mechanism. "The idea of 'race' was not so much the deliberate creation of a caste seeking to defend its privileges against what was regarded as an inferior social caste as it was the strategic elaboration of erroneous notions which had long been held by many slaveholders. In order to bolster up those rights the superior caste did not have far to seek for reasons which would serve to justify their conduct. The illiteracy and spiritual benightedness of the slaves supplied plenty of material for elaboration on the theme of their essential inferiority. The difference in physical appearance provided a convenient peg upon which to hang the argument that this represented the external sign of ineradicable mental and moral inferiorities. It was an easily grasped mode of reasoning, and in this way the obvious differences in social

status, in caste status, was equated with the obvious difference in *physical* appearance, which, in turn, was *biological* difference. Thus was a culturally produced difference in *social* status converted into a difference in biological status. What was once a social difference was now turned into a biological difference which would serve, it was hoped, to justify and maintain the social difference."

The progressive forces in the world today are working to break down caste and economic barriers. Freedom and equality can have no reality while it remains within the power of an individual or a group to enslave or to exploit other individuals or groups. Even were all men economically equal, castes would no doubt survive as long as the human race remains infantile. Snobbery will be the last human weakness to be eradicated by a proper education. But social snobbery found in the clique, in "our set," or in the Mayflower descendants is relatively harmless. That snobbery which through the military, the police, and the power of money decrees that some few shall rule and enjoy while others shall serve and obey is the root of most of the world's woes. Education can do something to weaken it. But as the present world conflict attests, the progressive forces of the world are forced to a shorter and bloodier path.

To those who fear that with greater equality and economic security throughout the world, with the destruction of "master races" and the freeing of slaves there will be greater intermingling of the blood of white, yellow, brown, and black peoples, the anthropologist and the biologist offer words of cheer. They cordially welcome such a prospect believing that thereby humanity as a whole will be energized and benefited. Hybridization in plants and crossbreeding of animal strains demonstrates that a superior progeny is the result. Children of mixed marriages, white and yellow, white and black are, on the evidence, superior on the average to either parent. The dominant and better characters of both parents are apparently united in the offspring: "Just as the fertilizing effects of the contact and mixing of cultures leads to the growth and development of the older forms of the culture and the creation of new ones within it, so too does the inter-breeding of different ethnic groups lead to the growth

and development of the physical stock of mankind." And again: "Among human beings, as among lower forms of life, hybrid vigor is most markedly characteristic of the first generation of hybrids. . . . Thus one of the principal means of revitalizing any group of living forms is by hybridization, and this has certainly been the case, from the earliest times, in man."

Professor Montagu's book may be read and enjoyed by those who have no technical knowledge of biology and anthropology. It is written for the general reader—the educated general reader that is—for the author's purpose is a social, not a narrowly scientific one. By telling in simple terms the facts of "race" as biologists and anthropologists see them, he is doing his bit to break down one of the costliest and cruelest of all human prejudices, the prejudice born of a caste, of a nation, and of an ethnic group. The human race will scarcely have begun to be civilized until such ideas as his are accepted as a matter of course and no longer arouse outraged dissent.

C. H. G.

Roosevelt's Foreign Policy, 1933-1941.
Compiled and edited by Douglas Lurton.
634 pp. Wilfred Funk, Inc., N. Y. \$3.75.

What is "foreign policy", this formidable phrase which statesmen roll so glibly on their tongues and average citizens try so valiantly to understand? At the risk of over-simplification, one can define foreign policy as no more than a nation's behavior toward its neighbors. Like a family which moves into a new building or upon a new block, a nation decides how to treat its neighbors. A family does not hold a council and decides to be rude to Neighbor A, to conciliate Neighbor B, and to fawn upon Neighbor C, but nations frequently do just that—for reasons of state.

To carry the parallel farther, an aggressor family may "muscle in" on its neighbor and dispossess it of goods and liberty. That parallel may seem ridiculous because we know that families have recognized rights and that police and lawcourts are established to maintain these rights. But in the field of international relations it has always been "Might makes right" and "Woe unto the weak!"

On Sunday, November 8, 1942, at a meeting in Madison Square Garden to mark the 25th birthday of the Soviet

Union, Vice-President Henry Wallace served notice upon obstructionists in all camps that the Administration saw clearly the need for international cooperation. Thus we might say that the Vice-President of the United States set forth the foreign policy of our government not as "Might makes right" or "Woe unto the weak" but as "Liberty and Justice for all", for the sake of an enduring peace and the collective security of the nations of the earth.

"Roosevelt's Foreign Policy, 1933-1941" is the record of the national administration's effort to cooperate with other nations, to stay out of war, and then, latterly and reluctantly, to fulfill our duty as a great power by helping to slap down the international brigands. This volume, while intended for reference, is yet interesting and indeed illuminating reading.

State papers are usually dry, created for the moment and destined to confound the schoolboys of later generations. The speeches and messages in this volume, however, contain flashes of candor which make them unique. They are not models of eloquence nor samples of great prose: in this field Winston Churchill could furnish better examples. They are not as scholastic as Woodrow Wilson's state papers were, nor as prosaic as Herbert Hoover's. Neither do they have the electric quality of Theodore Roosevelt's pronouncements.

But this much is true: Franklin Delano Roosevelt's words have an outspokenness and a direct appeal that is very rare in papers of this sort. Reading these one can understand better why the steel worker in Pittsburgh, the farmer in Iowa, the rancher in Texas and the seaman outside the Golden Gate should listen to him, and each feel that he is being addressed as an equal. There lies the secret of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's kinship to Mr. Average Citizen. Whether in a Fireside Chat or in a message to Congress he has the faculty of making the American people feel that he speaks from *among* them, not from *above* them.

The salient points in the President's foreign policy have been the good neighbor idea toward South America, recognition of Russia, the idea of a world economic policy, neutrality—up to the fall of Poland—and the building of the national defenses against the day when it would no longer be possible to main-

tain peaceful relations with other countries.

Generally speaking, that foreign policy was a success. Where it failed it did so because the elements of the original policy were not pursued with sufficient vigor or because pressure groups, as in the case of help to Spain, created enough confusion in official Washington to prevent us from taking stronger action. One cannot say that the President was always right, but some of his errors have been cancelled out by the vision which led him to Lend-Lease and Selective Service when many of us were still pooh-poohing the power of the Hitler war-machine.

What historians will say about these nine years of Roosevelt's foreign policy cannot be hazarded at the moment. Today most of us realize that certain things that should have been done years ago were not done at all. Perhaps Hitler should have been slapped down when he first rose to power: but in the absence of an international police force, and with the world powers, large and small, behaving, with few exceptions, like hoodlums in boiled shirts, there was no one to do it, particularly as long as Hitler could sell the West on the idea that he planned only aggression in the East. But then, hindsight is easier than foresight.

We of the United States should be grateful that in the last nine years the Chief Executive was not an appeaser, but a man who knew this country so well that he could express its feelings in these twelve words: "We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees." As long as that remains the American spirit and the slogan of the United Nations we will yet win this Axis War. After that will come another opportunity for international cooperation. This time we must seize the moment not as *neo-imperialists* but as men of good will interested in ringing down the curtain upon the sordidness and greed which has so long held the world stage.

LOUIS ZARA

An Economic Program for a Living Democracy, by Irving H. Flamm. Live-right. 342 pp. \$3.00.

This work, subtitled "A Capitalistic Approach to Planned Economy," does indeed have an approach which is novel, interesting, and, in a certain sense, "capitalistic." The author, a practicing lawyer

in Chicago, with obvious experience in reorganizing insolvent corporations, analyzes with deliberate fairness the problems of our national economy in terms and concepts welcome alike to liberals and conservatives. After concluding that our present system is unable to discharge its obligations to the citizens of the nation, in accordance with its production potential, he applies the terminology and techniques familiar to lawyers and business men who have dealt with failing corporations, in order to work out a sound "reorganization" of our national enterprise.

The reader will find in this book a clear presentation, in smooth and simple prose, of the workings of our economy, with its awful waste, conflict, and tragedy. Others have done that much before. But the author has not stopped there. Nor was he satisfied merely to finish off with a few skirmishes, in a fight of words, with other writers, whose ammunition all too frequently is also an assortment of similar, yet different, battle-cries. Instead, Mr. Flamm has come forward with a specific blueprint for the change-over for which he pleads without passion but with much persuasion.

Before introducing his plan, the author reviews the changing nature of "free enterprise," from its classic condition as seen by Adam Smith, through the industrial revolution; down to the loss of its "free" character in an economy of limited markets; and finally its practical non-existence in our own day of giant corporations, whose control has little relation to their ownership. In this process of gradual change, private profit, which in the beginning was a desirable *incident* of production, in the end becomes almost completely unrelated to social usefulness.

Then follows a chapter on "Waste," a record of facts which show that America before World War II was producing only about forty per cent of its possible output; that, measured in money, our country was allowing an annual waste of about one hundred and thirty billion dollars, resulting in general want in place of reasonable abundance. And yet, argues the author, our system has survival value, for all of us, rich and poor alike.

As has been well said, Mr. Flamm's program is "to give us bargains, not sermons." He does not doubt or dodge the

issue. He fairly states that the evils of our system cannot be removed either by exhortation or restraint: the one is valueless and the other worse; for regulation tends only to suppression, and finally to fascism. The author argues for what is to him a democratic solution, the functional union of ownership and control; retaining the profit system in such enterprises where it may still be able to serve the end of maximum social utility—free from taxation and regulation—and replacing it with machinery for socialized production wherever its retention results in restricted production, particularly in the basic industries. In the words of the book: "The choice of our times is not between democracy and dictatorships. Rather it is between totalitarian planned economy (fascism) and democratically planned economy based on the principle of social utility."

The outstanding value of the book is its definite specifications of how to achieve the latter, with a detailed statement of the mode of transition. The plan proposed does not involve the expropriation of anyone, however rich; rather, full payment with self-liquidating 3% government bonds. And all this, in an economy free from intra-state taxation of any kind, practically without direct or indirect taxes even by the Federal government, with the exception of some limited taxes, such as on earnings of private corporations, inheritances, and gifts. The details of the plan are quite complete, right down to such matters as the method of appointment of the members of the Central Planning Commission and the fourteen Administrative Departments, and the functions of these bodies.

The reader may well ask, "Is the plan either realizable or desirable?" The author has answered both questions affirmatively and has explained his answers. Those who may disagree, and particularly the liberals among us, must speak out with more than mere statements of ultimate hopes. It is their duty to submit a better and definite plan *now*, in our own lifetime. That is the special merit of the book, its challenge to all. Everyone will enjoy reading the author's blue-prints for a better world. It will raise the level of discussion for all who are interested in a rational solution of the problems of our times.

PAUL G. ANNES

What's Your Name? by Louis Adamic, Harper & Brothers, N. Y., 248 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Adamic was born in Slovenia where his name is written with a hook over the C and is pronounced Ah dah'mitch. It is now Americanized to A'damic or A dam'ic, the author himself preferring the former as in accord with the American practice of accenting first syllables. Mr. Adamic is proud of the place of his birth and of his name but he cheerfully submits to its Americanization. He does not, on the other hand, alter his name to Adams, for to do so would be to erase its old-world origin and rob it of color. The name Adamic is an addition to American sur-names, a name to which his works have lent distinction.

Mr. Adamic and his name are by way of being a short parable on the problem which confronts millions of Americans of foreign birth or whose parents were foreign born. They desire to become wholly at home here, to be recognized for the good Americans that they are. Stupid and provincial Americans whose foreign-born ancestors are more remote sometimes make the lot of the newcomer hard. School-children sometimes make fun of foreign-born children and their names. Some employers are prejudiced against "foreigners" or those with foreign names. The temptation is very great to change the foreign name to one more acceptable to American ears and prejudices. Mr. Adamic tells an amusing story of a Finn named Kobotchnik and his dog Nurmi which was renamed Buster by his wife. The immigrant changed his name to Cabot and was unhappy for years until he changed back. Buster too, was changed, was unhappy and bad-tempered, and finally ran away to his former master. It was the names that were responsible.

The problem of names in our evolving American democracy is profounder than it seems at first sight. The loss of a name, or change of a name, is in a subtle psychological way emblematic of the loss or change of a personality. Mr. Adamic cites case histories in which the changing of names resulted in family discord and even tragedy. The sense of concealment, as of a shameful past, may work subconsciously to undermine character, to corrode independence and integrity. A man who repudiates his origins, his nationality and religious faith, because of fear or

shame, maims himself. It is the motive of the act and the subsequent fear of exposure that corrupts him. There may be, and occasionally is, sufficient motive for the adoption of a new name without loss of self-respect and integrity.

Mr. Adamic is one of the authentic voices of the new Americanism which is slowly emerging, not without pain and conflict, from the fusing of the many peoples who constitute the modern United States. Our language is English and our political and social institutions are largely Anglo-Saxon. But the blood that runs in our veins comes from many peoples. The English and Scotch-Irish strain is probably now recessive rather than dominant. The hybrid American who is now in process of creation will derive much from the "old line" Americans but he can and should contribute other values derived from his own heritage. Of this heritage he has no reason to be ashamed. He should, indeed, be proud. The name which is the label of that heritage he should keep, subject to sensible alterations which will make it pronounceable to the American tongue and agreeable to American ears. Variety in names, as in everything else, is surely desirable.

The casualty lists in this war, as Mr. Adamic surmises, will go far to familiarize us with names of foreign origin and increase our respect for them. When a bombardier named Levin is decorated for sinking a Japanese battleship something considerable is done to hasten our national unity and to weaken race prejudices.

CARL GRABO

All Night Long by Erskine Caldwell; Duell, Sloan & Pierce. 283 pp. \$2.50.

This is a story of Sergei Mikailovich Korokov, a tractor driver from the Lenin Collective Farm near the Dnieper. Sergei, at the behest of the Russian Army Command is operating in the rear of the enemy, spying upon the present invaders of Russia, destroying bridges, lines of communications, killing the German soldiers whenever that chance presents itself and when no chance is there, creating opportunities.

Sergei is a guerilla; he is the prototype of thousands of others who, on orders from Moscow or because of patriotism, freeze and starve to stalk in the valleys

and hills of Russia a crafty and a cruel foe, pitting audacity and intelligence against the modern war machine of a powerful aggressor. Sergei is presumed to epitomize the men of the Soviet soil, the injured people who cling to their native earth amidst conquerors and act as avengers of the despoilers of their fatherland.

The outline only for the saga of the great Russian partizan bands is hinted at in this book. The sympathetic reader is at one with the author in doing homage to the thousands of unnamed heroes who are now dying so that Nazi soldiers may perish but, spectacular as Sergei's deeds are, no living human being emerges from *All Night Long*. What we have is but a stirring account of raids, rape, butchery, and rescues without, somehow, a sense of reality in these experiences. It is doubtless true that what Caldwell has told us is correct; such people as Sergei Korokov at this moment wage war with the Germans; in the telling of Caldwell, however, their exploits are no more than picaresque.

B. W.

The Self-Betrayed, by Curt Riess. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 380 pp. \$3.00.

Curt Riess has given us another of those exposés of the Nazi regime which, had it been written three or four years ago, would have created a sensation. Coming as it does after three years of revelations about Nazi Germany in books written by the repatriated foreign correspondents and embassy officials, most of whom rushed to press as soon as they had reached American shores, this latest volume by the writer of *High Stakes* and *Total Espionage* can only be considered as a recapitulation of what we already know about the inner workings of the Nazi Party and the double-dealing intrigues by which Hitler rose to power. This newest work, however, differs from all the previous exposés in at least one respect. It is a genuine attempt to tell the story of the nefarious role played by the German General Staff in shaping the course of events in Nazi Germany, following the first World War.

Who are the German generals? We have heard much of this band of Junkers who were trained from infancy to uphold the military traditions of their caste. The commentators and columnists constantly

made reference to the shadowy figure of the German General Staff which mysteriously lurked in the background of German policy. We were told that Hitler feared the generals—that they provided a restraining influence on his actions—that they were opposed to the anti-Jewish program of the Nazi Party. We were led to believe that some day the generals would depose Hitler, and that a conservative regime would follow. And we were told that there would be no war because the German General Staff did not want war. Curt Riess has exploded this myth. He has revealed the true character of the German officers' clique. He has shown us that the generals, far from being conservative, and far from desiring peace, actually helped to foist Hitler on the German people. They realized that he was the leader who could inculcate the German people with the race consciousness which was so necessary if the Germans were again to try to conquer the world. They were perfectly satisfied to remain in the background as long as they were given a free hand to rebuild their armed forces—for war!

The opening chapter is confusing, probably because the author introduces us to too many characters at one time. The reader is vaguely aware that this first chapter should have been placed elsewhere in the book, and that the story should have started with the second chapter, for Riess there takes us back to the logical starting point of the story, the period preceding the last days of the World War. From here on the book moves along at an exciting pace. Each chapter brings to light new revelations of the duplicity of the generals, and of their defections, one by one, from the solidarity of the German General Staff, to Hitler and his new order. Had they retained their solidarity as a group they might have been in a position to oppose Hitler. But Hitler was a master at playing one general off against another, and they were stupid enough to fall into his trap. By the time they realized that the power which they had once held in Germany was no more, it was too late. The generals had betrayed themselves. There was nothing left for them to do but to go along with Hitler, and try to salvage some measure of prestige for themselves and for their caste.

Curt Riess sets out to unmask the

German generals—and unmask them he does! He delves into the minutest details of their private lives. He takes us into their palatial homes in "Ostelbein", and records conversations that took place behind closed doors. He gives us the details of the secret meetings of the General Staff, which even Hitler did not know about. He tells us, almost word for word, what occurred during many of the interviews which Hitler held with various members of the General Staff. One cannot help wishing that the author had taken the reader into his confidence, and given us the source of all this secret information. Is it based on documentary evidence? Is it based on absolute fact? Or is it just gossip? Curt Riess does not tell us.

All in all, *The Self-Betrayed* is a worthwhile book. It is well written, and makes for interesting reading. For those readers who have lost track of much of the detail of the frantic days of 1939 and 1940, the book provides an excellent "refresher course." For those who have not kept up with the output of books about Nazi Germany, *The Self-Betrayed* will prove to be a revelation. And for those who still believe that we can deal with the German General Staff and make peace with them, this book is a "must." It will enlighten them as to the real motives of the military caste in Germany. It will bring home to them that the General Staff never surrendered. For they believed the armistice to be just what the word implies—a breathing spell, during which they were to work feverishly to build up their strength so that they could once again take up the war they had started in 1914—the war to conquer the world!

SAMUEL LAWRENCE

On Native Grounds: An Interpretation of Modern American Prose Literature, by Alfred Kazin. Reynal & Hitchcock, New York, 1942. 518 pp. \$3.75.

At least two qualities make Kazin's book deserving of wide recognition and conscientious study: its clarity of thought and perhaps even more, its clarity of writing. Kazin is sure about his content and style, his ends as well as his means. He knows what he wants to say, and he has a rather clear idea of where he wants his words to lead him.

He explains his purpose with characteristic definiteness in his Preface.

... Our modern literature came out of those critical years of the late nineteenth century which saw the emergence of modern America, and was molded in its struggles. It is upon this elementary and visible truth—almost too elementary and visible, so close are we still to its crucible—that this book is based. ...

There is a terrible estrangement in this writing, a nameless yearning for a world no one ever really possessed. ... All modern writers, it may be, have known that alienation equally well. ... But what interested me here was our alienation on native grounds—the interwoven story of our need to take up our life on our own grounds, and the irony of our possession.

Kazin's method is to describe modern American prose literature by examining writers representative of a particular period or movement. As a result, all of his sixteen chapters consist mainly of analyses of two or more writers: Wharton and Dreiser, Anderson and Lewis, Cather and Glasgow, Farrell and Steinbeck, Faulkner and Wolfe.

The Kazin who emerges from this impressive study is a gifted and enlightened young liberal, whose love of literature compels him to repudiate the exclusively sociological interpretation of literature of a Parrington or the Comrades of the Dialectical Enlightenment, at the same time that his interests in men and society compel a similar repudiation of the Exquisites and belletristic Formalists. Yet his perspective is broad enough to include what is genuine—or what he believes genuine—in writers as different as Edmund Wilson and T. S. Eliot, Van Wyck Brooks, Newton Arvin, John Chamberlain, and Henry James. His approach, thus, represents a skillful and extremely intricate balance of the many and varied movements which have become a legitimate part of recent American tradition—and as Kazin does it, it isn't walking on eggs, either.

Most people will agree with William L. Shirer, Ellen Glasgow, Louis M. Hacker, Irwin Edman, Howard Mumford Jones, Malcolm Cowley, Louis Adamic, and Van Wyck Brooks that Kazin's *On Native Grounds* is one of the best books of the

year. At any rate, I agree enthusiastically.

Certain parts of the book are especially moving, notably Kazin's superb discussion of the idealism of late nineteenth-century and pre-World War I America, of post-war cynicism and the despair of the depression, and finally, of the Great Re-Awakening of idealism in the late Thirties. The suggestions here for our own day, the parallels in our recent past are poignant and pointed, striking, rather, biting; they bruise and cut deep; for example, the Haymarket case and Howells and later, the Sacco-Vanzetti case and Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Maxwell Anderson, Millay, and—sardonic note—James Thurber; or the brilliant young men of World War I like Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and today Michael Straight—and Alfred Kazin.

Many will be justly impressed with the quotations which, together with Kazin's own sententious comments, make the work a virtual phrase-book of the best that has been recently thought and said on the belief in the Common Man and the Good Life. And the quotations and phrases are all "on native grounds."

One finishes the book and feels with Kazin that the twentieth century American has yet to find his Jefferson, Thoreau, Paine (just as, many would say, the twentieth century American Jew has yet to find these, in addition to his Maimon and Halevi). Are the sages good and true to be found by a return or by a rebirth or by some still unguessed mingling of each with the other? This is the question which comes up repeatedly in modern thought; and as a question, it is as appropriate now as questions always have been when, in the genuine search for truth, one seems to come at last in the presence of something so fundamental that positive dicta seem puerile, absurd; and so, not daring to state, one asks. Thus Job and Socrates; thus, if you will, Henry James' Princess in *The Princess Casamassima* (1886), in a passage which Kazin suggests (p. 48) as the shrewdest "prognosis of the embattled future . . . written in James's generation:"

Are we on the eve of great changes, or are we not? Is everything that is gathering force, underground, in the dark, in the night, in little hidden rooms out of sight of governments and

policemen and idiotic 'statesmen'—heaven save them!—is all this going to burst forth some fine morning and set the world on fire? Or is it going to sputter out and spend itself in vain conspiracies, be dissipated in sterile heroisms and abortive isolated movements?

But the dynamics of life do not permit us to rest with the questions. One answer, rather one directive, in our search and Kazin's search may well be one which is not found in the book, that of Philosopher-Professor Max Otto:

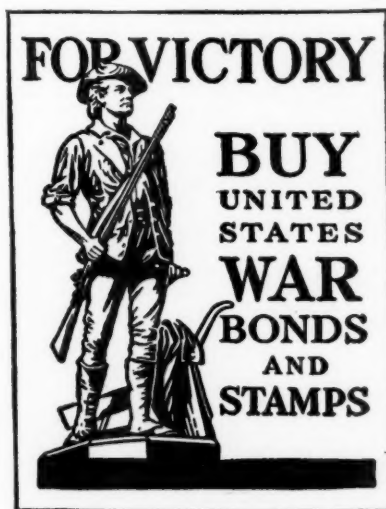
The vast economic, material body of the world lacks a mind to match it, and is not animated by a commensurate moral spirit. This backwardness is the tragic inadequacy of our time. It is the problem which, more than any other, calls upon philosophy for new vision and creativeness.

The answer which Kazin seems to prefer, so much so that it is the first and last quotation of the book proper, is this from William Dean Howells' *Criticism and Fiction* (1891):

They will have seen the new truth in larger and larger degree; and when it shall have become the old truth, they will perhaps see it all.

This insight is surely suggestive, richly suggestive, for the inquiring, twentieth century American—and for others, also.

LEO SHAPIRO



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